

California Historical Quarterly

Spring 1973



California Historical Society

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COVER: Performances of classic drama in outdoor amphitheaters were unknown in the United States until the turn of the century. At that time the residents of Point Loma theosophical community near San Diego introduced classic, Shakespearean, and their own plays to delighted audiences who came to the theosophists' new oceanside Greek theater. The well-attended productions frequently featured elaborate formal tableaux such as this scene of Socrates surrounded by his disciples from a play identified only as *The Aroma of Athens*. For a pictorial essay on the Point Loma theosophists—truth seekers who devoted their lives to universal brotherhood and the study of ancient erudite texts—turn to page 4.

California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LII • SPRING 1973 • NO. 1

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Drawings by Mabel Moores Frisbie

Text by Jean Moores Beauchamp

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Coming May 1st

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Edited by George H. Knoles,

Chairman, History Department, Stanford.

A symposium of interpretative essays by nine prominent historians offers fresh, arguable perspectives on the historiography of California. These papers were delivered before the American Institute of History at Stanford University on the occasion of California's bicentennial. Some of the articles have already appeared in the *Quarterly* and have generated an unusual amount of favorable reader response.

Scholars included in this symposium are: John W. Caughey, Walton E. Bean, Rodman Paul, Gerald D. Nash, Don E. Fehrenbacher, Moses Rischin, Earl Pomerooy, Harold C. Kirker, and Andrew Rolle.

128 pages, paperback only, \$5.95. (CHS members' price: \$5.00).

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Eastern Thought on a Western Shore

POINT LOMA COMMUNITY

by Paul Kagan and edited by Marilyn Ziebarth

ON A HIGH BLUFF above the Pacific Ocean near San Diego perches a pillared Greek temple, the remaining jewel on an architectural brooch which was once the theosophical community known as Point Loma. Founded at the turn of the century, Point Loma housed a population of 500 in 1910 and maintained itself for another thirty-odd years, becoming a center of theosophical thought in the United States.

Organized during a period of disillusionment with existing institutionalized religions, Point Loma theosophists dedicated themselves to the study of Eastern literature and religion through which they would come to understand the few essential truths from which all religions flow. By their lights concepts such as the unity of God, immortality, and ethical living were the basics of existence at all times. Theosophists sought to prepare—in Edenic California where theosophy already flourished—a new, enlightened generation to lead the world to brotherhood. Of lasting importance to California, Point Lomans pioneered in educational philosophy and practices that are dogma in today's progressive schools. The community also introduced to America such sundry innovations as a Greek theater for the production of lavish plays and a typeface for the publication of a Sanskrit reading grammar. Relatedly, Point Loma helped acquaint Western man with the long ignored Eastern religious texts.

The original Theosophical Society was formed in 1875 in New York by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott. Taking the philosophical cast of its two leaders, who were soon evangelizing in America, England, and India, theosophy became concerned with doctrines of karma (the necessity of the individual to pay for his misdeeds) and reincarnation (the mechanism through which he made compensation and thereby rose to perfection) as explanation for the existence of evil in God's world. Despite a denunciation of "HPB" (as she is known to theosophists) as "one of the most accomplished, ingenious, and interesting imposters in history" by the British Society of Psychical Research, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky managed to control the society and win numbers of prominent followers.

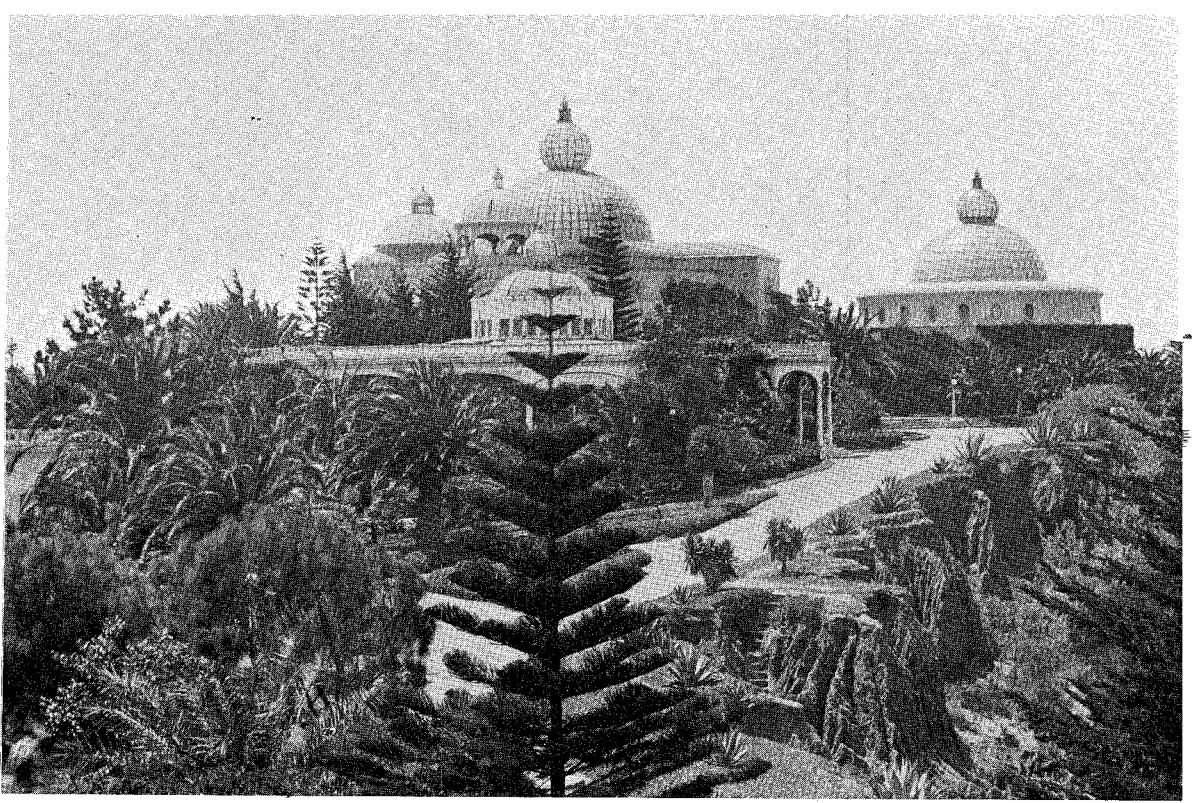
OPPOSITE: Point Lomans specialized in spectacular renditions of classic plays. This gypsy scene attracted nearby San Diegans to a performance of "As You Like It."



Katherine Tingley, sometimes called "Purple Mother" because of her fondness for that color, was forty-some years of age, childless though thrice-married, and an idealist and former philanthropist when she established Point Loma. Convinced of the correctness of her beliefs, she owned the community's property and set its policies.

On Mrs. Tingley's return from Europe early in 1897, she visited the Point Loma site and laid a cornerstone with characteristic ceremony. Dressed in a purple gown, she sprinkled corn, oil, and wine on the cornerstone and proclaimed it "a perfect square, a fitting emblem of the perfect work that will be done in the temple for the benefit of humanity and glory of the ancient sages."





Point Loma's hotel-sanitarium was domed with blue glass, the temple with Mrs. Tingley's favorite purple glass. The immense bowls glittered with the reflected light of the sun; at night, they were illuminated from within. On top of the domes were ornamental glass spheres which heightened the impact of the already exotic community complex. Pointed-roofed, sky-lighted cottages for the pupils in the new school were also constructed, and one wealthy member, A. G. Spalding of sporting-goods fame, built a home for himself with a spiral staircase outside and a nine-hole golf course in the back yard.

When HPB died in 1891, however, an intense struggle over succession erupted between Olcott, then in India, and William Quan Judge, a charter member who had led the society in America during HPB's absence. Most American theosophists stuck with Judge despite accusations against him of fakery, and they finally formed their own American branch of theosophists which claimed one hundred member chapters, California having more than any other state. (The other branch, Adyar, successfully operated, and still operates, its own lodges in America.) When Judge died in 1896, a remarkable woman named Katherine Tingley took control.

Although a relative newcomer, Mrs. Tingley convinced the society that former leader Judge spoke through her and skilfully used the occult credential of being a medium to gain control of the organization. (One small group defected from her new leadership, eventually to build their own community named Halcyon, or Temple of the People, near Pismo Beach. Another community, Adyarist Krotona, thrived first in Hollywood and later in Ojai.) While Mrs. Tingley set out in 1896 with a group of followers on another worldwide crusade, her representatives purchased 132 acres at Point Loma, adjacent to a United States naval base, on which her White City in the West could be raised. Little was built at Point Loma during the next three years



"Raja Yoga" means "kingly union" and signifies an attempt to bring physical, mental, and spiritual faculties into balance. Formal classroom instruction at the school was never more than three hours each day, but these hours were used with great efficiency. Young Raja Yoga students impressed visitors with their ability in spelling, arithmetic, music, and other subjects, and many Raja Yoga teaching methods, similar to Montessori techniques, were adopted much later in California schools.

Visitors frequently commented on the orderly, almost military atmosphere of Point Loma where saluting and military uniforms were common (opposite, right), and journalist Ray Stannard Baker remarked on the "paralyzing dignity" displayed by the Raja Yoga children (below). "Sitting at their tables . . . with singular quietude, even the little children gave the appearance of absorbed occupation." Through all their activities, a rule of silence was maintained, with all but essential conversation outlawed. Mrs. Tingley believed that silence fed the soul.





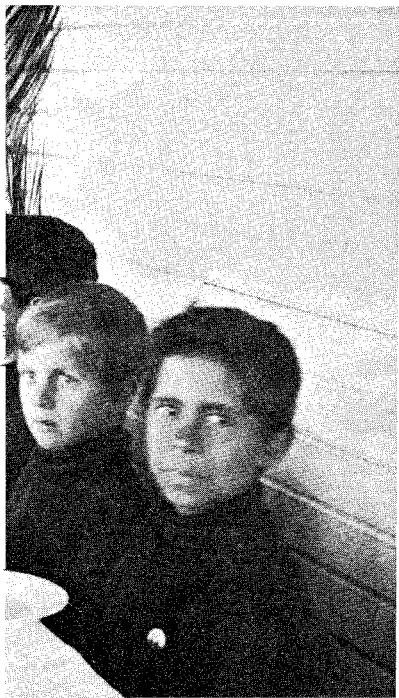
which Mrs. Tingley spent in gaining absolute control of the society, changing its name to "The Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society," and writing a new constitution giving her power for life. A theosophical congress was held there in 1899, however, amid the pageantry she loved: trumpets were blown, flags raised, invocations chanted, and *The Eumenides* presented with a cast of two hundred. San Diego newspapers were greatly impressed. Finally, in 1900, serious work began on the hotel-sanitarium, the temple, and the offices, homes, and cottages for the proposed theosophist school.

The Raja Yoga School, as it was first known, proved to be the most important experiment undertaken at Point Loma; not surprisingly, it reflected the philosophy of its headmistress. Paraphrasing the Jesuits, Mrs. Tingley declared:

"Let me have a child from the time of birth until it is seven years old, and all the temptation in the world will not move it."

The children at the Yoga school were from many backgrounds, although the adult residents were predominantly well-educated, middle and upper-middle class, and the school did not tamper with any previous religious training the children had received. Theosophy, however, was in the air.

Starting in 1900 with a few children, the school grew to 300 within ten years. Tuition ranged from no fee to \$2,000 annually. The children were divided into small groups under a teacher who stayed with them at all times. They lived together and were permitted to see their parents, only a few of whom lived at Point Loma, for only two hours on Sunday afternoons. Although determinedly unconventional the school quickly made a good





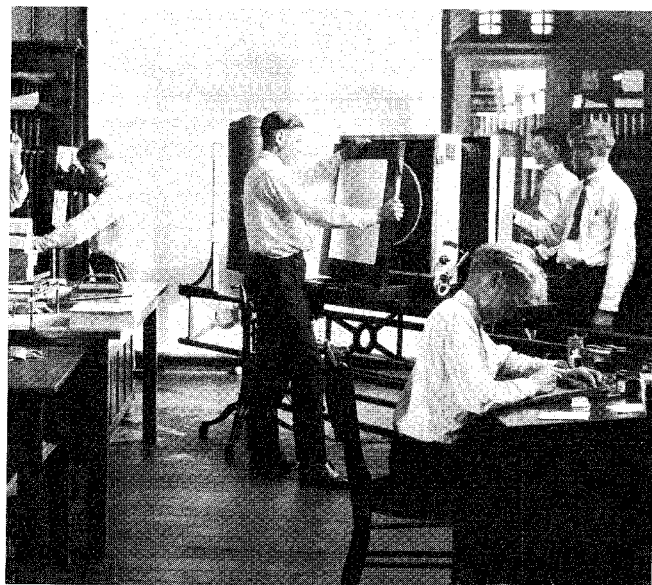
reputation for the variety and quality of educational and practical skills it developed in the Point Loma students.

Mrs. Tingley concentrated so much of her energy and resources in Point Loma, however, that the theosophy movement in the rest of the country suffered. Most of the lodges organized by Judge were disbanded, and many disheartened members went over to the Eastern-oriented Adyar theosophists. (In 1907 theosophists claimed 600 branches in forty-two countries.)

Mrs. Tingley drew much criticism for her autocratic behavior, too. A disillusioned San Francisco theosophist, writing to the *Chronicle* in 1902, called Point Loma a "freakish Oriental court," complained about the "foolish ceremonies" in which participants wore "long gowns and ridiculous hats," and expressed his belief that followers would soon be required "to crawl into Mrs. Tingley's presence on all fours."

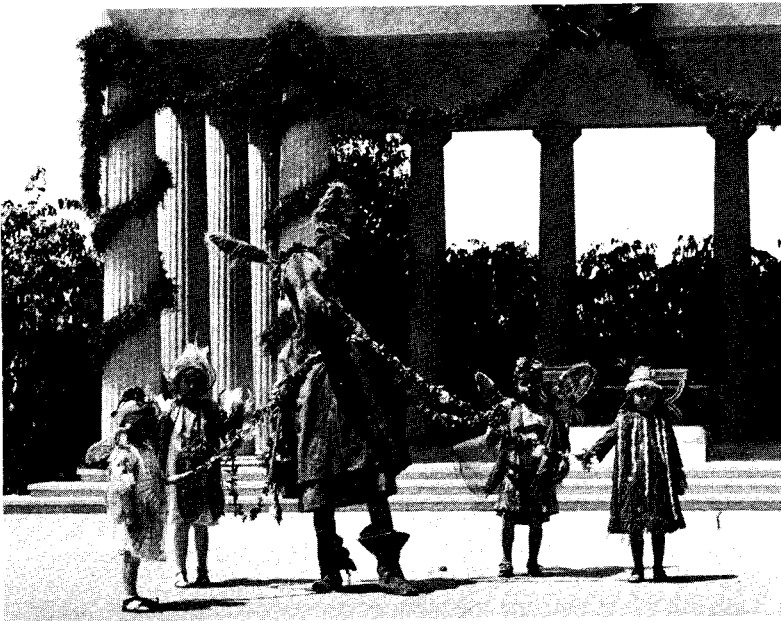
The Raja Yoga School was also attacked by the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children when, through the society's influence, eleven Cuban children en route to Point Loma were denied entry to the United States in 1902. The testimony against Point Loma included accusations that Mrs. Tingley called her spaniel "The Purple Inspiration," taught children that plants marry and have babies, and required children to stand for visitors and

Outside the classroom, children joined one of the community's orchestras, played games, and worked in the gardens (which yielded more than 123,000 pounds of fruit in a single year) or in one of the community industries. No wages were paid for labor, and jobs were rotated to avoid monotony. Sometimes the schedule was interrupted for work on one of Point Loma's elaborate dramatic presentations which were performed in the amphitheater which accommodated 2,500 people. The educational goal of bringing all the faculties into balance was thus implemented by encouraging artistic children to do practical things, and practical children to do artistic things.





Believing that classic drama dealt with eternal truths and mysteries, the Point Loma community frequently performed lavish productions of plays including Aeschylus' The Eumenides (left and below right) and Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream (below left). (In the Furies' endless pursuit of Orestes, for instance, Mrs. Tingley recognized the theosophical doctrines of karma and reincarnation.) Interested San Diegans regularly filled the Greek theater, permitting the productions to break even and sometimes realize a profit.

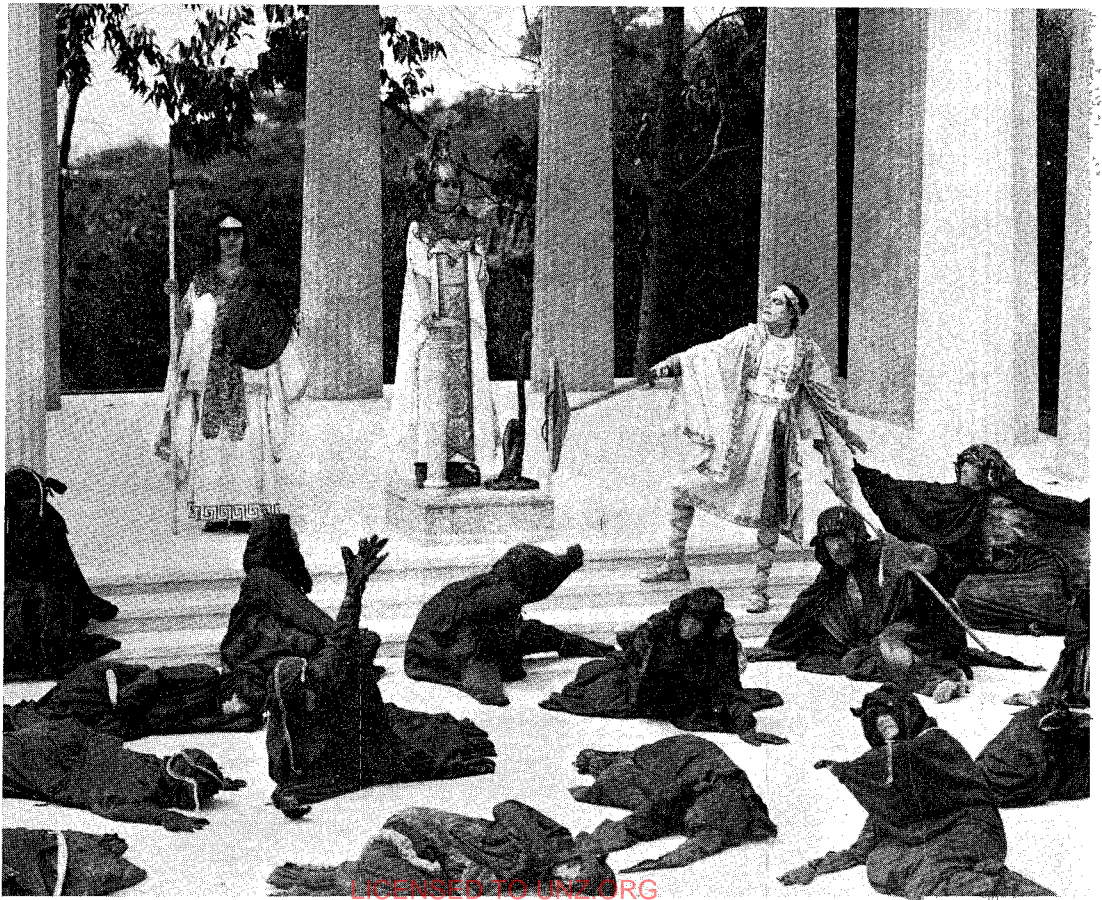


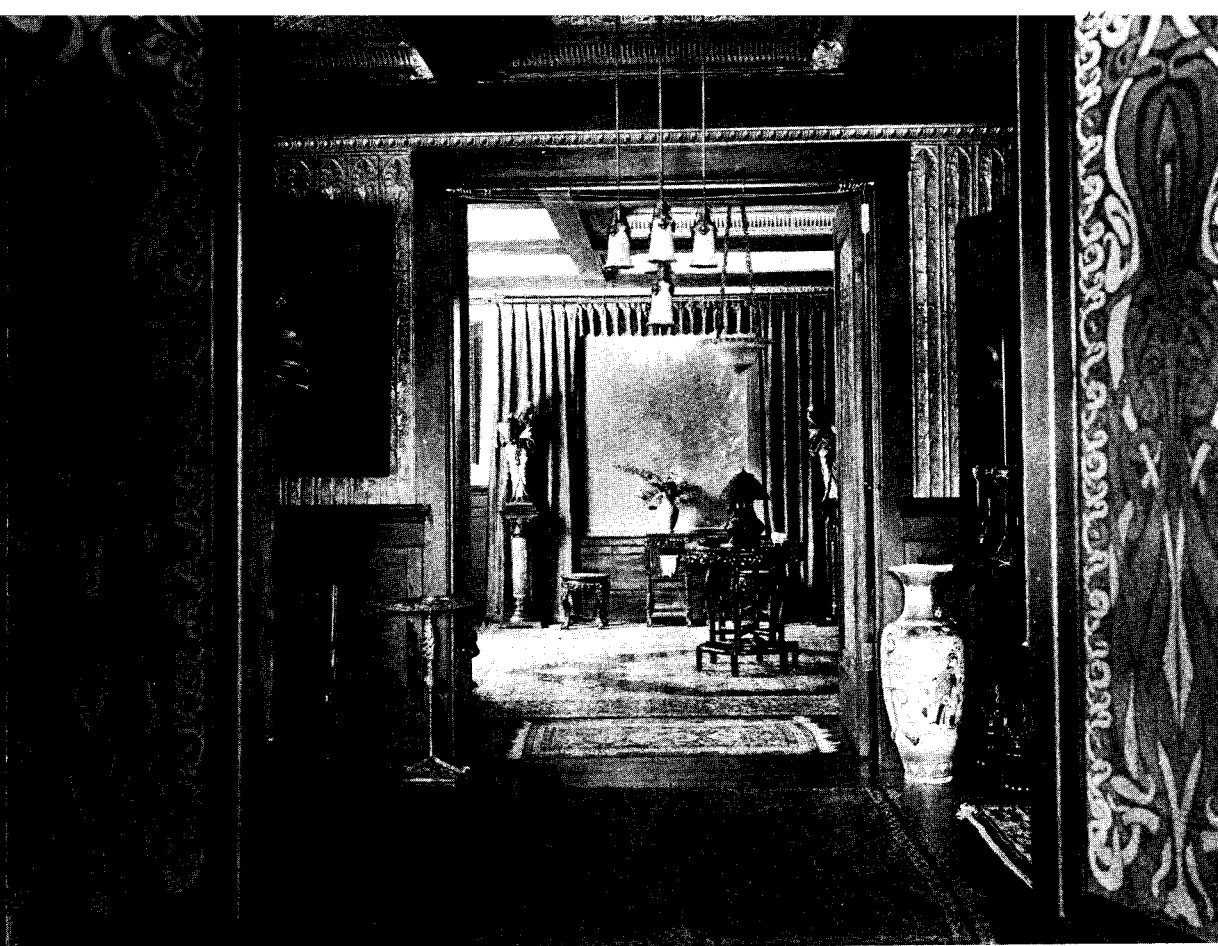
say, "We like our Lotus Mother and are glad to be here." She was also accused of considering herself a second Christ. The press enjoyed itself over all this, but Mrs. Tingley and her school were ultimately vindicated by inspectors who visited Point Loma and were favorably impressed by what they saw. The Cuban children were released and arrived triumphantly at the school.

Point Loma prospered for many years and pursued its principles with only occasional harrassment, but by the mid-1920's, its fiscal foundation had deteriorated considerably. Point Loma was always financially dependent on members' contributions; the school realized some profit, but none of the other projects were self-supporting. Many theosophist lodges around the country had closed or defected, and without their financial support, Mrs. Tingley was forced to rely more and more exclusively on a few wealthy backers. In 1927, some of the community's land was mortgaged, which allowed colony life to continue on its usual grand scale for a time.

Then, on a trip to Europe in 1929, eighty-two-year-old Mrs. Tingley was injured in an automobile accident, and, issuing orders to the last, she refused to be moved to a hospital in spite of her doctor's insistence. She died six weeks later.

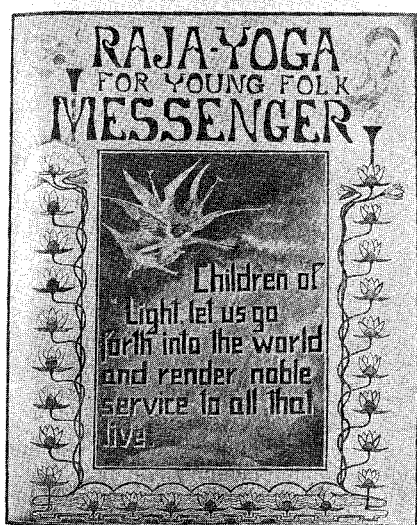
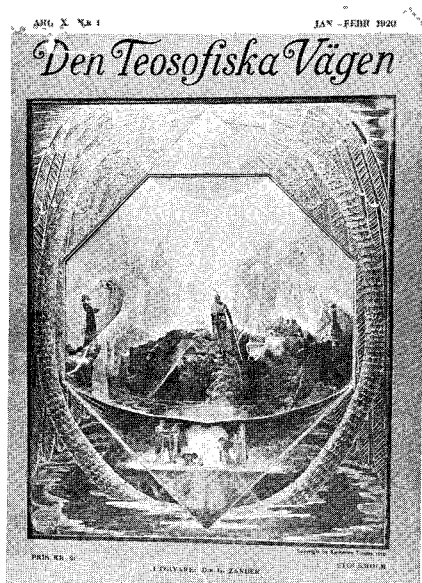
Gottfried de Purucker, Mrs. Tingley's supporter since 1896, succeeded her as spiritual leader at Point Loma. Purucker dropped "Universal Brotherhood" from the title of the organization, replaced the name "Raja Yoga" with





Point Loma's lavish interiors, replete with oriental rugs, ancient Chinese carvings and pottery, and furniture created by the colony's most famous artist, Reginald Machell, reflected the idiosyncracies of Mrs. Tingley more than the philosophy of theosophy or the spartan life of most of its residents.





Theosophists published periodicals and pamphlets which were translated into languages including Spanish and Swedish for distribution to seekers and followers in the United States and abroad. Iverson Harris maintains a library of Point Loma materials today as part of the on-going Point Loma Publications organization.

"Lomaland School," and waived the rule of silence. He also attempted to mend the rift with the Adyar theosophist faction, but did not succeed. This was a serious failure, since that group had money, and money was once again badly needed.

When de Purucker died suddenly in 1942, the theosophists left Point Loma. Community affairs had remorselessly deteriorated, and the nearby naval base had become strategic to the war effort, noisy, and undesirable as a neighbor.

The theosophists who remained in Mrs. Tingley's organization moved from Point Loma to Covina and then to Altadena, which is still their headquarters. They own a very large and elaborately furnished house on spacious, well-tended ground, but it is a small community. The residents are few and not young. Several of the members were students in the Raja Yoga School many years ago.

As for Point Loma, it is now the campus of California Western University. The huge domed temple and most of the other original buildings are gone. The Greek theater remains, with a plaque reading:

First Greek Theater in America.
Built A.D. 1901 by the Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society under leadership of Katherine Tingley. The Society occupied these premises from 1897 to 1942.

The view from the theater is magnificent, but it isn't the same. The land behind the theater which once dropped straight down to the ocean has been filled, and basketball courts and baseball diamonds are neatly laid out between the pillars and the sea.

Rodman W. Paul

*Edward S. Harkness Professor of
History at the California Institute of
Technology and author of many
publications on western history*

The Beginnings of Agriculture in California: Innovation *vs.* Continuity

THIS ESSAY IS based upon a desire to discover whether the inevitable actually happened. Historians are fond of asserting that given a particular set of conditions, it was "inevitable" that such and such results would be forthcoming. A case in point is the history of California agriculture during its early decades under the American flag. Grounds exist for assuming that novel patterns, unlike those of the nineteenth-century American norm, would develop in California after 1848. But did they?

Consider the basic circumstances. How many other rural regions have seen their population increase nearly twenty-fold in less than five years, as California's appears to have done between the early months of 1848 and the close of 1852 (i.e., from perhaps 14,000 to 255,000)?¹ What is more, all of the new arrivals were of necessity consumers, since all men must eat, but almost none were as yet producers, and all had reluctantly become accustomed to paying very high prices for their food. That is the kind of situation that a farmer dreams of but never expects to encounter. With supplies coming in from places as distant as New York, and no sources nearer than Oregon, Hawaii, and Chile, the chance to profit by growing food in California was too obvious to be overlooked.

But was California capable of producing crops? To modern Californians, accustomed to the lush greenness of our artificially watered farms and suburbs, that will seem a mere rhetorical question. To Forty-Niners, coming from the humid lands of eastern America or Europe, the question was real. As that notable pioneer teacher of agriculture, Professor Edward J. Wickson, once remarked, "It was in California first of all that the American mind came into contact with arid, semitropical conditions."² The rainy but mild and snowless winter was clearly an asset, even though the total amount of precipitation seemed disturbingly low, but the remaining six months, with no

NOTE: By special arrangement with the Institute of American History at Stanford University, the California Historical Society is privileged to publish a series of papers prepared by nine distinguished historians and read before a conference celebrating California's bicentennial, held at Stanford in 1970. Five of the essays, including the following one by Professor Paul, have been published first in the *Quarterly*, and all will be issued by the Society this spring in book form.

rain and with fierce heat that dried and cracked the ground, were an obstacle such as easterners had never before faced. Equally strange were the soils, soils that were so characteristic of an arid climate but so unlike those of a "normal" region. The soils were seriously deficient in humus but rich in minerals; they were blessed with great depth and puzzling variety, but were prone to alkali poisoning.

After watching successful attempts at farming in 1850, Sacramento's little newspaper declared:³

Those who have but recently arrived here, and those living in the States, are hard to be convince[d] with regard to the productiveness of California soil. The fact of it is, most things we meet with here are so diametrically opposite to all we have before seen and been accustomed to, that it require[s] a step into the imaginative before we can fully realize and appreciate [what we have here].

In his Thanksgiving Day sermon that year, a Sacramento minister declared gratefully to his congregation: "Contrary to all our previous assumptions, the State has vast resources of wealth in her soil."⁴ The men of 1849 and 1850 should have been less skeptical, because there was quite enough evidence of agricultural achievements by the antecedent Spanish-speaking civilization, together with beginnings by other settlers who had come shortly before the gold rush. It is true that the most impressive accomplishment of the Spanish-Mexican era, the missions, with their orchards, grain fields, vineyards, and irrigation works, had decayed as Hispanic California's attention shifted to the great undeveloped cattle ranches, but nevertheless the Spanish and Mexican settlers offered to their American successors models—admittedly primitive ones—that suggested that it was possible to mature grain in this arid land, and that, especially by resort to the unfamiliar practice of irrigation, it was possible to grow grapes and all kinds of fruits, including such exotics as oranges, olives, and figs.

The incoming population of 1849 and the 1850's was cosmopolitan enough to respond to both the opportunities implicit in the unusual physical and economic environment and the suggestions explicit in the Hispanic model. Rarely has any American frontier received such a variety of talents and backgrounds. Where most frontiers were settled by expansion from a contiguous and comparable frontier a little further east, this one was populated partly by what contemporaries called "western men," coming overland from the Mississippi Valley, but even more so by settlers who came, often by sea, from the Middle Atlantic states, New England, and the Old Northwest of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. With them came men from the principal countries of Europe and from every civilized nation.⁵

Among the agriculturally-minded part of this mixed population were some remarkable individuals who assumed leading roles in the 1850's and 1860's. Notable examples were the Lewelling brothers and their partner

William Meek, pioneer nurserymen who moved their operations down from Oregon to California; G. G. Briggs, whose \$25,000 return on ventures in watermelons in 1851-1852 financed his first importation of peach, apple, and pear trees from his former home in New York State; Agoston Haraszthy, the Hungarian who became the state's best-known experimentalist and publicist for grapes and wine; A. Delmas, whose grape cuttings from his native France survived a six-month voyage around Cape Horn; J. W. Osborn, a former sea captain and merchant in the China trade, who became proprietor of a wheat ranch and model farm in Napa Valley; and E. L. Beard, whose varied career prior to California had included milling, pork packing, stone quarrying, and government construction contracts, who became in California a highly successful producer of grain, potatoes, fruit, and grapes—before he went bankrupt through too much speculation in land. These men tended to be part farmer, part entrepreneur, and part speculator.

Much of the opportunity open to such men was based on the simple fact that although California had a large consumer population, the state was singularly isolated from major external sources of supply, the nearest being the Atlantic Coast and Mississippi Valley. The mines and the new city of San Francisco together offered farmers a local market uniquely large for an agrarian frontier, and after California's own gold mines began to dwindle in the later 1850's, new gold and silver mines in other far western territories, especially the Comstock Lode, provided whole new markets, while San Francisco, as the queen city of the Pacific Coast and the hinterland, grew into a thriving urban center that claimed 57,000 citizens in 1860 and 234,000 in 1880. Profits from mining, merchandising, transportation, and the professions—all surplus funds tended to drift into San Francisco—generated a supply of locally-controlled capital that financed many a venture in rural California and that greatly reduced the normal frontier dependence on absentee investors and lenders.

It was as if California, in an economic sense, were in fact an island, just as those attractive old seventeenth-century maps conceived it to be. There were potentialities for trouble, of course, for while isolation offered the California farmer protection from external competition, isolation would, equally, make exporting difficult if California-grown crops ever exceeded the needs of the local market. It was a long, long way around Cape Horn or across the Pacific to reach the nearest major population centers.

Viewed in their totality, early California's characteristics were as distinctive as one could ask for: a bizarre natural environment dominated by an arid climate; an Hispanic heritage that suggested possible ways of living with that environment; a cosmopolitan and speculatively-minded crowd of new farmers, some of whom were expert and some ignorant; a large local market; and geographic isolation. The sum of all these seemed to prophesy an unusual history.

When a new American agriculture began, its birthplace was not in South-

ern California, where Hispanic settlement had started, but rather in the central part of the state, where a chain of natural waterways existed, consisting of San Francisco, San Pablo, and Suisun bays, and the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers that flowed into the bays, together with Monterey Bay, which could be reached by a short trip down the seacoast from San Francisco. Since steamboats and small sailing craft began using these waterways at the very start of the gold rush, the central region had transportation facilities such as no other part of the state possessed prior to the railroads. By something more than a coincidence, rainfall was greater in the central region than farther south, and wherever the ocean fogs and sea breezes penetrated, the temperatures were less extreme. If agriculture was to be re-established in a new American California, this was the most promising area in which to begin.

To a surprising degree the scattered, small-scale attempts at farming in 1850 and 1851 forecast future trends. On the one hand, from the old mission orchards and vineyards at Santa Clara and San Jose fresh apples, pears, and grapes began "flooding" the markets of San Francisco in 1850, and vegetables and potatoes appeared in the markets in such abundance as to seem practically a "spontaneous production of the soil." The press was sure that those who went into farming "have been more universally fortunate than those who have engaged in mining."⁶ On the other hand, in 1851 the leading newspaper of San Francisco announced firmly that "there can be no finer grain country in the world," and that grain definitely could be grown without irrigation. The only problem was the shortage of harvesting machinery and flour mills.⁷ In other words, both intensive agriculture, of several kinds, and the extensive type represented by grain were not only possible but profitable. Which one would prove to be the more important?

Late in life Professor Wickson, who had served California agriculture since 1879, had occasion to explain why wheat played such a dominant role in the farming that sprang up after the gold rush. He stated:⁸

Wheat-growing by Americans came about in this way. During the first decade of greatest gold output, there was wide trial of agricultural production, chiefly for home use and to displace imports. This was successfully done with many products that did not require much skilled labor, but the crops which could be most easily, quickly and cheaply produced were demonstrated to be cereal grains. . . . For these reasons, California fell into wheat at first just as do all other new countries.

"Just as do all other new countries." That simple explanation, advanced by a highly qualified observer, deserves reflective attention. The antecedent Spanish-speaking civilization had shown California's potentialities for doing something unique in fruits, grapes, and semi-tropical exotics, and during the 1850's pioneer orchardists, nurserymen, and viticulturists made heroic and very well publicized efforts to develop their specialities. In fact they enjoyed a success that would have been considered notable if it had not been overshadowed by the dramatic expansion of wheat. Wheat quickly became Cali-

fornia's principal form of agriculture and so continued for nearly fifty years. In this California simply duplicated the earlier experience of New York and Pennsylvania, or the contemporaneous development of the midwestern prairies or the Great Plains—or, for that matter, the contemporaneous development of Australia, Argentina, Canada, and many another "new country."

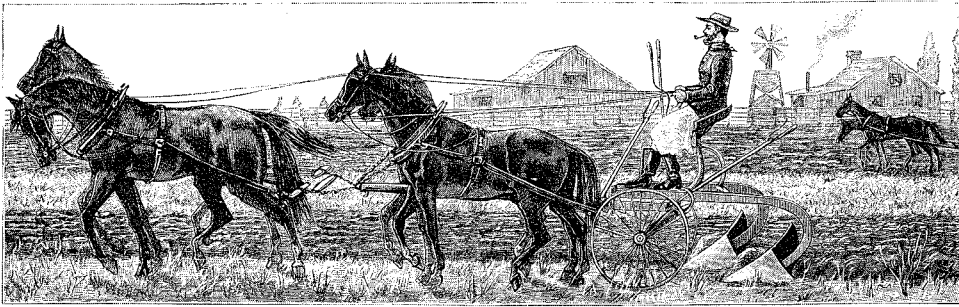
Despite truly evangelistic contemporary arguments to the contrary, orchards and vineyards were not as yet full alternatives to wheat in California, because they required a considerable initial investment, they gave no significant return until the trees or vines had matured—a matter of some years—and they demanded skill and understanding. Much uncertainty existed initially over whether irrigation, with its costly preliminary investment, was made necessary by California's dry summers. The experience of the 1850's demonstrated that in the central region, with its better annual rainfall, irrigation often was not a necessity and sometimes was not even desirable, but for many people doubt over this key question continued to be a harrassment. Still others had justifiable worries about transportation and markets for so perishable a commodity as fresh fruit. Indeed one reason for the early boom in grapes and wines was the belief that wine could be exported successfully by sea, in addition to finding local markets.

Reliance upon wheat spared the would-be farmer from having to worry about these rather intricate considerations, and grain made possible a much wider choice of land. The best informed opinion asserted that without irrigation three-fourths of California's tillable acreage could be used only for grain. The facts that grain offered a quick return, with payment at the end of the very season in which the wheat was planted, and that it demanded a minimal initial investment were attractive features in a land where rates of interest on capital were high and where title to much of the best and most accessible land was shrouded in uncertainty. The huge tracts covered by Spanish or Mexican grants were of potential value, but until title was settled and the rival claims of alleged owners, squatters, and tenants adjudicated, few cared to risk money on permanent improvements. Many an early wheat farmer was content to lease land from a Spanish grant claimant, obtain equipment on credit, and go into business at minimum risk to himself.

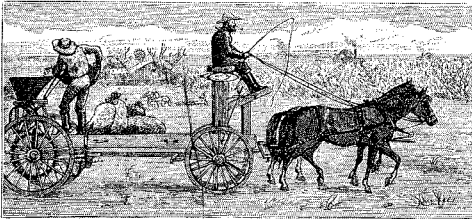
Nor were the new California grain farmers temperamentally inclined toward the long-range thinking implicit in planning an orchard or vineyard. Irritably a leading newspaper said of the average farmer that it saw arriving from the east:⁹

He very likely is too impatient to plant fruit trees and vines. He can hardly think of waiting for them to grow. No! he must get his returns immediately. He came to California for a fortune, and if he is not making it rapidly he is discontented and eager to try something else.

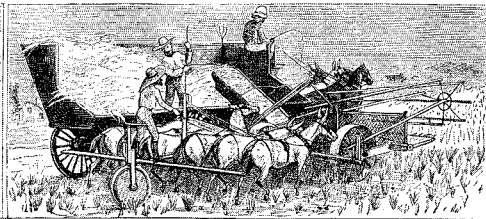
John S. Hittell, the State's leading economic writer, gave this description in the 1863 edition of his compendium:¹⁰



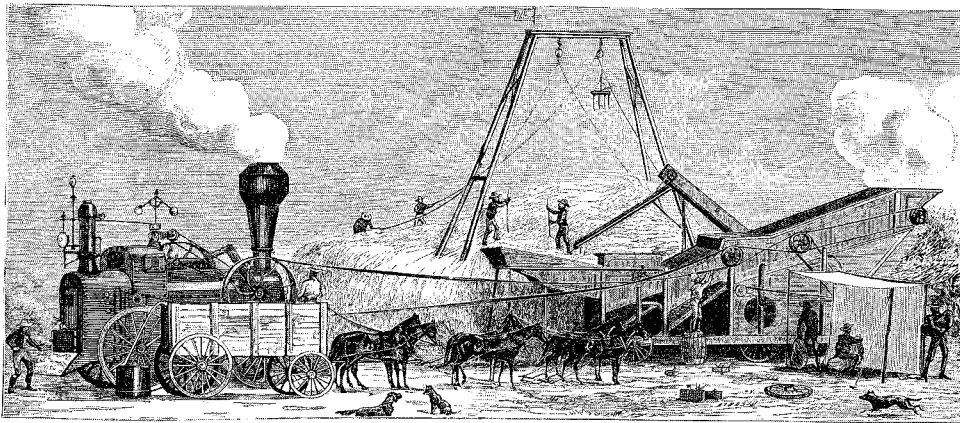
NOVEMBER: PLOUGHING



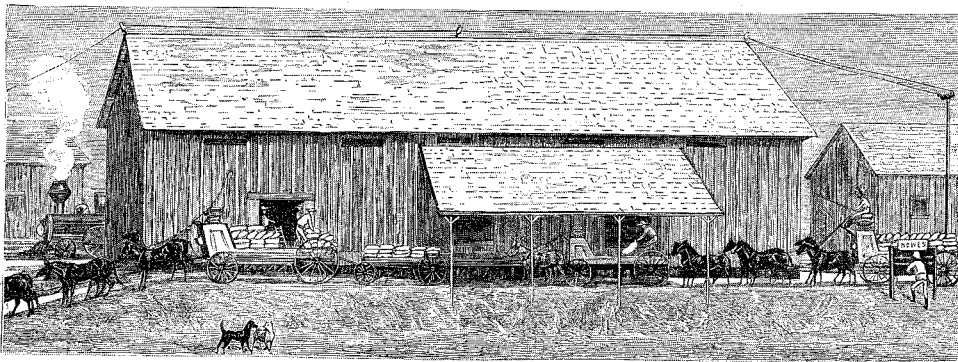
JANUARY: BROAD CAST SOWING



JUNE: HEADING



JULY: THRESHING



JULY: WAREHOUSING

WHEAT FARMING IN CALIFORNIA

The July 14, 1883 issue of *The Graphic* offered curious Englishmen this pictorial primer about the wheat-growing cycle in far-off California.

The farmers generally are anxious to make as much money as possible, and as soon as possible, without regard to the future value of the land. Some of them are not permanent residents of the state, and intend to leave it so soon as they get a certain number of dollars together; others are farming land the title of which is in dispute. . . .

Surely the California wheat industry was one of the most extraordinary of all agrarian episodes. Where wheat hardly had a beginning before 1852, even in 1854 and 1855 experimental shipments were being sent to New York, Australia, South America, Russian Alaska, and Great Britain, in the hope of finding outlets for a prospective surplus. By the end of the 1850's Californians were gloomily predicting disaster if a major overseas market were not discovered. In the middle and later 1860's Liverpool was established as the destination for the great majority of San Francisco's wheat exports, and from that date until the end of the century, shipments between the two cities via Cape Horn formed a commerce that was, as a contemporary specialist remarked, "very distinct from the rest of the wheat trade of the United States. . . ."¹¹

To the extent that they created something that was independent of both the Chicago wheat pit and New York, the California shippers were genuinely innovative. Ironically, much of the credit should go to that favorite whipping boy of the farmers, the middleman. It is true that a few of the largest wheat growers tried chartering ships and sending their cargoes to England "on their own account," and that for a time during the 1870's the farmers resorted to cooperative shipments through the Grange, but fundamentally the Liverpool trade was the creation and continuing concern of the middlemen and the British. British grain prices, British shipping, British insurance, and ultimately British finance came to dominate the trade to such a degree as to make the California wheat industry almost a colonial appendage to Victorian Britain.¹²

Credit for technological achievement is harder to assign. When wheat planting began in the 1850's, the need for labor-saving machinery was apparent, because all rates of pay in California were inflated by the real or alleged return that a man could expect if he went to work in the mines. The extensive flat, virtually treeless valleys, relatively free from stones, were well suited to horse-drawn machines, and later to steam-powered ones. The ownership of land in big tracts, under "Spanish" grants, made for efficient use of machinery on something comparable to an industrial mass-production basis.

Starting in the 1850's, California became an eager importer of eastern and middle western equipment and an equally eager designer and builder of its own, but unlike mining machinery, which became an unsurpassed California specialty, California farm-equipment manufacturers, faced by high costs for skilled labor, metal, and hardwoods, had to share their market with outsiders.

Few if any parts of the world carried to greater extremes the process of

mechanizing wheat raising and harvesting. Nor did many regions rival California in size of individual operations. To manage a big California grain ranch required more executive ability than knowledge of seed and soil. A transient army of men, horses, mules, and massive machines had to be organized into a temporary industrial operation each harvest season, and a much smaller crew at plowing and seeding time. In between someone had to manage the omnipresent outstanding debts, watch Liverpool prices, and make decisions. Frank Norris has given us an unforgettable picture in his novel *The Octopus*.

The curious thing is that so many people recognized from almost the beginning that the wheat ranches were a temporary phenomenon. Farm journalists and state fair speakers never ceased to criticize California's wheat industry for being temporary and speculative in both concept and execution, with the result of giving "greater regard to quantity than quality in work or product."¹³ Wastage of grain was said to be considerable, and there was frequent complaint that not enough care was taken to keep foreign matter out of the grain. The ranches were accused of exhausting the soil through shallow plowing and failure to fertilize or rotate crops. Few attractive rural homes were built, it was said, and few kitchen gardens or ornamental shrubs planted. So specialized were the ranches that they bought their household vegetables and fruits from peddlers, their flour and canned goods from a store—and on credit. There must have been a basis for such criticism, for at the end of the century wheat ranching failed with extraordinary suddenness and left little to mark its passing. Increasing production throughout the world meant declining international prices at a time when Californian yields per acre were dwindling and more profitable uses for the land were coming forward.

It is easy to become so critical of the wheat growers that one forgets that they did California a great if temporary service. Without the huge wheat exports, that in the record season of 1881-1882 filled the holds of over 500 ships at San Francisco, California's continued growth after the Gold Rush would have been much slower and the rural regions would have been left for decades as undeveloped livestock ranges. In the pre-irrigation era the only universal alternatives to wheat were livestock and barley. The latter, a traditional poor man's crop, because it can survive under difficult conditions, was in fact raised in quantity as feed for the several hundred thousand draft animals used to haul supplies to the mining regions.

But for a more intensive and more permanent use of its lands, one capable of sustaining a larger population and a richer community life, California kept turning hopefully to temperate-climate fruits, such as peaches, pears, and apples, and to grapes. Both made great progress during the 1850's and 1860's, and yet both were still struggling with major problems during the 1870's and 1880's, which was the era in which railroads and irrigation at last began

to increase the proportion of California where intensive farming was possible.

What stands out from the history of both fruit and grapes was the relatively quick and resourceful way in which a few leaders attacked technical problems connected with selecting and growing fruit and grapes, as contrasted with the sluggishness of the rank and file in following the leaders' advice, and the prolonged delay in evolving satisfactory marketing arrangements. The latter delay was connected with the former. With too many producers constantly entering the field, overproduction for California's limited market was endemic, and yet a bad situation was made worse by a pronounced tendency of new and inexperienced growers to force their product into the market all at once, because of needing immediate cash, and to select and pack their crop, or make the wine, so badly as to reduce its value and give the whole industry a bad name.

The leaders' role during the 1850's and 1860's arouses one's respect. Agoston Haraszthy genuinely deserves to be called the "father" of the wine industry. A pioneer grower himself during the 1850's, he made Sonoma County the center of research and information concerning viticulture. He was one of the first to prove that in central California a better quality of wine could be made from grapes that had *not* been irrigated. He wrote a widely used manual on grape growing and wine making, and after importing many varieties of European vines for his own purposes, in 1861 he persuaded the state legislature to endorse his proposal to make a five-month survey of European vineyards, so as to study the best practices and bring back 200,000 cuttings and rooted vines from France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Hungary. A few years later, when California wines needed tariff protection, Haraszthy was the agent sent to Washington.

No one individual played so notable a role in developing temperate-climate fruits, but as Professor Wickson later remarked, "California was very fortunate in numbering among the early settlers so many men with horticultural tastes, skill and experience."¹⁵ Like Haraszthy, some of these early leaders concluded that in central California irrigation was sometimes neither necessary nor desirable, and by 1856 some small irrigation facilities were actually abandoned. In lieu of irrigating, careful cultivation was urged, to keep down weeds and thus conserve moisture. Pruning caused another debate, before general agreement was reached on low pruning, designed to facilitate picking, reduce danger of wind damage, and protect the trunk from the fierce California sun.

Far more subtle, and yet ultimately the key to success, was the slow-coming realization that central California offered a wide variety of local climates and soils which must be matched to the equally varied possible types of fruit—and to the market for each. By 1870 the State Board of Agriculture thought that substantial progress had been made toward that complex objective. In the process young trees and seeds from all parts of Europe and America had been tried.

The percentage of sheer loss caused by all this experimenting and by the constant presence within the industry of inexperienced practitioners must have been high. In 1860 a leading pomologist estimated that "of all the fruit trees sold in California, not more than one-third of them ever survive to a bearing age; and it is safe to affirm that not more than a half of this third will ever produce any considerable amount of good fruit."¹⁶ Diseases, such as the curled leaf blight that struck so many peach orchards, caused further losses.

But the greatest problem was the most obvious one: the limited market offered by San Francisco, the mines, and the few substantial communities. By universal report, a high percentage of each year's crop was left to rot in the orchards because high labor costs and low prices made harvesting unprofitable. The *Sacramento Union* remarked in 1858:¹⁷

Between the prodigality of nature and the deficiency of consumers, the hands of our fruit-growers are awkwardly tied. . . . Yet our horticulturists are generally making money from the one-third of their crops gathered and sent to market.

With mixed success, efforts were made during the 1860's to pack fresh fruit for the long wagon haul to the Comstock Lode and other new mining regions. The opening of transcontinental railroad service in 1869 provided a much brighter hope, and yet for some years the railroad proved an unreliable outlet. High charges by the railroads, inexperience with the then primitive art of refrigeration, and equal inexperience with marketing arrangements in middle western and Atlantic Coast cities all caused losses on many shipments and scant profits on others. No real solution was possible until, in the 1880's, the growers hit upon the device of cooperatives, through which they could bargain with the railroads, supervise shipments, and coordinate marketing.

It is revealing to discover that canned, dried, and other preserved fruits and raisins were being imported into California in large quantities—and to a value of nearly a million dollars a year—until the middle 1860's, which is precisely the era in which every California orchard was said to be burdened with fruit that it could not market. Why it took so long to develop canning and drying facilities is not clear; nor is it clear why such plants were having difficulties until well into the 1870's.

All of the discussion up to this point has had to do with temperate-climate fruits and grapes. The early orchardists concentrated on peaches, pears, and the like because both growers and their potential customers had been familiar with them "back home" and because early tests showed that these species were well suited to central California. The most popular semitropical fruit was the orange. Throughout the 1850's and 1860's orange orchards were confined primarily to Southern California, and more particularly to Los Angeles County, although individual trees and small orchards had been tried throughout a wide range of latitude. Until at least 1870 there was a firm belief that oranges would not be profitable north of Santa Barbara

Southern California was, of course, an undeveloped region prior to the boom that began in the middle 1870's and stretched through the 1880's. Planting of orange orchards was limited and arrangements for marketing the crop were primitive. But it is worth noting that oranges were being imported into San Francisco from Mexico, the Hawaiian Islands, and Tahiti until the 1870's. Not until 1872 did the supply of oranges from Los Angeles equal the supply of foreign oranges in the San Francisco market.

Lack of rapid and low-cost transportation was one reason for the slow development of orange culture. The need for expensive irrigation facilities was another. Still a third was the late introduction of the two key species, Navel oranges in 1873 and Valencias in 1876. Former Governor Downey warned that no one who had only limited or even moderate means should go into orange growing, for too long a wait must ensue between seed and bearing—at least nine years, apparently.¹⁸ Olive trees, another promising arid-land possibility, likewise had a minimum waiting period of nine years.

This essay opened with the question of whether, given the special characteristics of California during its early years under the American flag, a distinctive result must “inevitably” ensue. Perhaps the most significant point about the several patterns of agriculture is that the two biggest, wheat and fruit, were both attempts to reproduce in a semi-arid environment, and under new economic and social conditions, industries that had long been established “back home.” The pioneers’ instinct seems to have been for innovation in method rather than objective.

Accomplishing this purpose with fruit proved to be a more complex and sensitive task than with wheat, because it demanded simultaneously an intimate understanding of the natural setting, and a firm comprehension of the realities of the market place and of transportation thereto. But the achievement of the wheat industry in marketing and harvesting should not be denigrated. The wine growers strode into a domain entirely new to all but a very few Americans, and with the benefit of much borrowing from the old wine districts of Europe, they made notable progress, though subject to cycles of alternating prosperity and depression. Semitropical fruits, on the other hand, were confined geographically to one of the less advanced and more isolated parts of California and accomplished only a modest amount prior to the last twenty years of the century.

It is easy to see how much the cosmopolitanism of California's early population helped in creating each of these patterns of rural industry. Neither wine nor fruit would have survived without a core of experienced, varied, and resourceful leaders from both America and Europe. Far more difficult to detect is influence exerted by the antecedent Spanish-speaking culture. Spanish law left its firm impress on land titles and water rights, a few bits of Spanish nomenclature and practice survived temporarily in early irrigation efforts in Southern California, and the Mission grape was widely used in the

early vineyards, until it could be replaced by better European species. But that is about all. Apparently the Spanish-Mexican model was too primitive to be of lasting importance.

The influence of the market is intriguing. California's local market was big enough to encourage substantial beginnings with several crops, but not big enough to absorb the large outputs that quickly resulted. Then began the search for external markets. At that point a nonperishable item like wheat had great advantages over fresh fruit, with wine somewhere in between.

Some, then, of the characteristics that made California so unusual at the opening of the American era did indeed prove of compelling importance; others of varying or even slight significance. History would be clearer if it were simpler. The trouble is that it doesn't come that way.

NOTES

1. J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States, . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, 1854), 394.
2. Edward J. Wickson, "Distinctive Features of California Horticulture," California State Board of Trade, *California. Early History. Commercial Position. Climate.* . . . (San Francisco, 1897), 53.
3. *Sacramento Transcript*, October 7, 1850.
4. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1851.
5. Commonwealth Club of California, *The Population of California* (San Francisco, 1946), 63-95.
6. *Sacramento Transcript*, August 5, October 7, 9, November 1, 1850.
7. *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, June 2, November 13, 1851, January 12, 1852.
8. Edward J. Wickson, *Rural California* (L. H. Bailey, ed., *Rural State and Province Series*, New York, 1923), 126.
9. *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, August 31, 1855.
10. John S. Hittell, *The Resources of California, Comprising . . .* (San Francisco, 1863), 162.
11. Peter T. Dondlinger, *The Book of Wheat. An Economic History and Practical Manual of the Wheat Industry* (New York, 1916), 194.
12. Cf. Rodman W. Paul, "The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLV (December 1958), 391-412, and "The Great California Grain War: The Grangers Challenge the Wheat King," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVII (November 1958), 331-439.
13. Alfred Holman, "Agricultural Policies and Practices in California," California State Board of Trade, *California*, 48. Holman was editor of the *Pacific Rural Press*.
14. Cf. Vincent P. Carosso, *The California Wine Industry, 1830-1895: A Study of the Formative Years* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951).
15. Edward J. Wickson, *The California Fruits and How to Grow Them* (San Francisco, 1889), 75.
16. *Sacramento Weekly Union*, July 14, 1860, quoting Wilson Flint in the *California Culturist*.
17. *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 3, 1858.
18. John G. Downey, "More About Orange Culture," *Overland Monthly*, 1st series (June 1874), 560-562.

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James Ohio Pattie and the 1827-1828 Alta California Measles Epidemic

AMONG HISTORIANS there is general agreement that an epidemic occurred in Alta California in 1827-28. However, some confusion exists about which disease, measles or smallpox, was responsible for it. For example, Sherbourne F. Cook, in his "Smallpox in Spanish and Mexican California (1770-1854)," states that smallpox¹ was the cause of the epidemic and in his "Population Trends among the California Mission Indians," published a year later, that it was measles². Henry Harris, in *California's Medical Story*, says in one section that the disease involved was measles³ and in another that it was smallpox⁴. Both Hubert H. Bancroft⁵ and Father Zephyrin Engelhardt⁶ attribute the epidemic to measles. In his *Personal Narrative*⁷, James Ohio Pattie maintains that the epidemic was due to smallpox and that he vaccinated 22,000 persons against it.

Interest in the 1827-28 epidemic increased when a study of the death registers of Missions San José, Santa Clara de Asís, and San Francisco Solano revealed a number of entries for 1828 in which death was attributed to measles. There was no mention of smallpox, even though S. F. Cook states in his smallpox paper that two of these missions, San José and Santa Clara de Asís, experienced very high mortalities from this disease in 1828.⁸ Because of these findings and the contradictory statements in the literature, an investigation of the original mission records was undertaken in an effort to obtain factual information about the 1827-28 epidemic.

In gathering data it was found that the mission death registers (*Libros de Difuntos*)⁹ occasionally give the cause of death. In addition, the annual and biennial reports (*Informes*),¹⁰ which were furnished the president of the missions and the College of San Fernando in Mexico, sometimes mention a specific disease when it was responsible for an unusually high number of deaths.

Study of the original missions records reveals that seventeen of the twenty-one missions were involved in the epidemic. Only missions La Purísima Concepción, Santa Inéz, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio de Padua escaped the outbreak. This good fortune may have been due to the absence of travelers between the infected missions and the "clean" missions during

the epidemic or, if there had been travelers, that they had arrived while in the noninfectious incubation period (ten to fourteen days, sometimes up to twenty-one days). Also, the possibility exists that, like Purísima, the other disease-free missions may have experienced local measles outbreaks in the not-very-distant past, as a result of which an appreciable number of persons would have acquired immunity to the disease. This herd immunity could have provided a measure of protection to the non-immune.

During the 1827-28 epidemic approximately 1,050 more than the average number of deaths occurred at the seventeen affected missions, a seventy-six per cent increase in the overall death rate. The disease struck at both adults and children. The adult death rate during the epidemic was forty per cent higher than average. The increase in the child death rate was a very dramatic one hundred twenty-two per cent. Death rates for the individual missions are presented in the chart below.

AVERAGE AND EPIDEMIC DEATH RATES^A

MISSION	AVERAGE CRUDE DEATH RATE ^B	EPIDEMIC DEATH RATE		
		CRUDE	ADULT	CHILD
San Diego de Alcalá	54	83	57	210
San Luis Rey	37	96	44	224
San Juan Capistrano ^C	43	119		
San Gabriel Arcángel	62	107	88	159
San Fernando Rey	39	97	83	159
San Buenaventura	54	76	50	203
Santa Barbara	62	120	71	312
San Miguel Arcángel	57	123	87	290
Nuestra Señora de la Soledad ^D	68	132		
San Carlos Borromeo	85	217	138	395
San Juan Bautista ^C	78	192		
Santa Cruz	84	145	112	305
Santa Clara de Asís	90	119	80	375
San José	95	121	108	222
San Francisco de Asís	54	70	50	235
San Rafael Arcángel	34	56	44	102
San Francisco Solano	73	111	97	148

A. Rates per 1000 inhabitants.

B. This rate was calculated by averaging the 1826 and 1828 death rates for those missions in which the epidemic occurred in 1827 and for the years 1827 and 1829 for those in which it occurred in 1828.

C. No annual or biennial reports exist for this mission, thus it was not possible to correlate all death rates.

D. The death register for this mission is missing and the information in the annual and biennial reports is insufficient for a further breakdown of death rates

The epidemic started in October of 1827 at Mission San Gabriel Arcángel and ended in June of 1828 at Mission San Francisco Solano. It progressed from south to north and most likely was carried by boat from Mission San Gabriel Arcángel to Missions San Carlos Borromeo and San Francisco de Asís. The disease spread from these three foci to the surrounding areas (see map), and, in two instances, the transmission is clearly documented. Entry number 3968 in the death register for Mission San José of March, 1828, states that Floro, "a good Christian" who was "convalescing" from the measles, had himself brought down from Mission Santa Clara to go to confession, but he arrived sick and, within forty-eight hours, died from the disease. Similarly, the biennial report of Mission San Rafael Arcángel for 1827-28 mentions that a number of children infected with measles at the Presidio of San Francisco had been transferred, possibly for treatment, to San Rafael.

It was not possible to determine how measles was introduced into Alta California, nor is there any clinical description of the disease in the original mission records. However, there is good reason to believe that the missionaries' capability to differentiate between smallpox and measles went beyond waiting to see whether or not the survivors were "pocked," since all had had experience in the Mexican missions where these diseases were well known. Moreover, not only did their training for missionary work provide them with considerable practical knowledge of medicine, but the Franciscans had long operated dispensaries for their Indian students which in Mexico City became the foundation for the famous Real Hospital de los Indios.¹¹

Because study of the original mission records failed to provide any documentation for the presence of smallpox in Alta California in 1827-28, the literature becomes the most likely source for the confusion about whether measles or smallpox was responsible for the epidemic. For this reason careful attention is given to the following frequently quoted sources of information about medical matters in the missions.

S. F. Cook's contradictory statements about the epidemic have already been mentioned. Evidently, in his smallpox paper he accepted Pattie's statement that the epidemic was due to smallpox and devoted considerable effort to a review of the portion of *Personal Narrative* dealing with the vaccination episode which he finds quite feasible. However, in his population trends paper which was published one year later, Dr. Cook attributes the epidemic to measles, having changed his mind for some undocumented reason. He did not use the original mission records but recognizes that they are the ultimate source, stating that if they still exist, they would be so incomplete and scattered that assembling them would involve a great amount of work which probably would not be justified by the results.¹²

Dr. Henry Harris, who also made conflicting statements about the epidemic, relied upon the *Personal Narrative* of James Ohio Pattie, of whom he speaks highly,¹³ for his assertion that the epidemic was due to smallpox and

upon the works of Hubert H. Bancroft that it was due to measles. If he had other sources, they remain undocumented.

Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, who devoted a lifetime to the study of the missions, remarks in his *Missions and Missionaries* that the precautions taken by the government and the missionaries seemed to have prevented the spread of epidemics other than measles and fevers and, further, that there is no record of smallpox having occurred prior to 1838.¹⁴

Hubert H. Bancroft, who had sources at his disposal which no longer exist,¹⁵ states that the epidemic of 1828 was due to measles. In his *History of California* he mentions that there is no record of any smallpox epidemic at this time or of James Ohio Pattie's tour¹⁶ and that "his (Pattie's) dates are all wrong."¹⁷

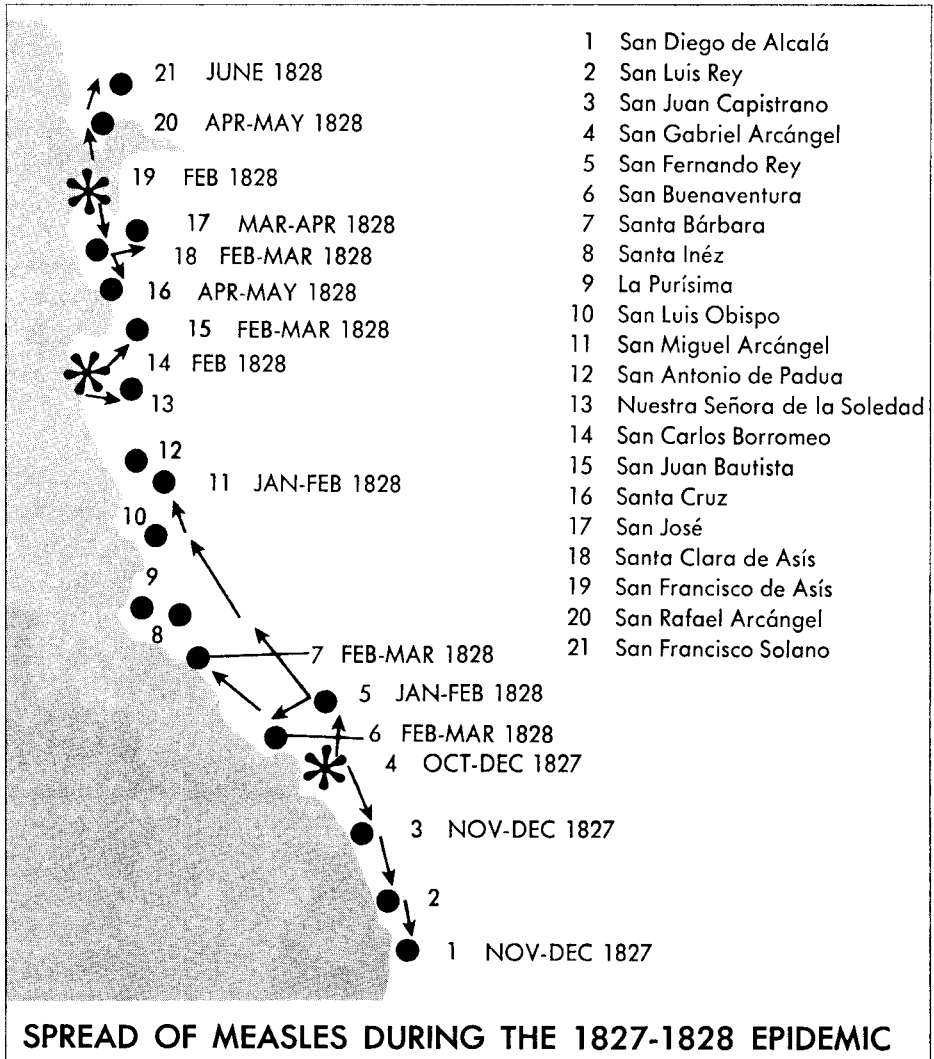
James Ohio Pattie, who travelled from Missouri to California with a group of fur traders and prospectors, published an account of his wanderings upon his return east in 1831. The whole group had been arrested upon entering California without the proper papers and imprisoned in San Diego. In *Personal Narrative* he states unequivocally that the 1827-28 epidemic was due to smallpox, and, thus, this work became the primary source for attributing the epidemic to this disease.¹⁸

Separating fact from fiction in this controversial work is a challenge, and most authors despair of working out its chronology. For example, Joseph P. Hill of the University of California's Bancroft Library was able to unravel Pattie's tale up to 1826, the portion which deals with his adventures prior to arrival in California. He concludes that this part of the narrative is really an account of the Miguel Robidoux and Ewing Young expeditions which Pattie is passing off as his own.¹⁹

Milo Milton Quaife, who wrote the introduction for the Lakeside Press 1930 reprint of Pattie's book, considers it a tale of stirring adventure. However, he admits that from the point of view of its accuracy and its importance as an historical source, something remains to be said.²⁰

William H. Goetzmann of Yale University, writer of the introduction for the 1962 reprint of the *Personal Narrative*, comments that although the precise factor of truth in the work will never be known, its use as a source continues.²¹ In his opinion, in spite of the obvious inaccuracies, it is a dramatic story written by a skilled teller of "tall tales" and makes for good reading.²²

The doubts about Pattie's veracity are proved well founded by the investigation of the original mission records and the epidemiological study of the 1827-28 epidemic. Actually, none of Pattie's information about the epidemic can be correlated with the records. He states that the epidemic started in the north,²³ when in reality it began in the south at Mission San Gabriel Arcángel in November 1827 and ended in the north at Mission San Francisco Solano in June 1828. He remarks that General José María Echeandía had



Measles broke out in Southern California in October of 1827 at Mission San Gabriel Arcángel. Then the disease traveled, perhaps by ship, to Missions San Carlos Borromeo and San Francisco de Asís. From these three infected settlements, the epidemic spread to neighboring missions, ravaging seventeen of Alta California's twenty-one church communities before it ran its course in mid-1828.

told him that one of the priests had died from smallpox,²⁴ but there were no deaths among the missionaries at this time.

Careful comparison of the information contained in Pattie's account of the vaccination episode with that in the records reveals that it, too, is filled with discrepancies. According to Pattie, Governor Echeandía released him from prison after he had agreed to perform vaccinations against smallpox.²⁵ He states that he started to vaccinate in San Diego on January 18, 1828, finished on February 16, and started his journey north on February 18, 1828.²⁶ These dates must be incorrect, since Pattie's *Carta de Seguridad*,²⁷ without which he could not have departed San Diego, was not issued until February 20, 1829. Therefore, if Pattie vaccinated in San Diego in January of 1828, the northern epidemic he mentions would have occurred in the autumn of 1827, and had he vaccinated there in January of 1829, the epidemic would have had to occur in the fall of 1828. However, there were no epidemics in any of the northern missions in the autumn of 1827, nor in any of the missions in the autumn of 1828.

Pattie says he vaccinated 22,000 persons,²⁸ of whom 18,962 were at the missions. But at this time the fourteen missions at which he is supposed to have vaccinated had a total population of only 12,851, which would indicate that he claims to have immunized approximately 6000 more people than were actually present in the missions. He stopped vaccinating at Mission San Antonio de Padua because he states that he was told that smallpox was already present in the five northern missions,²⁹ but there is positive documentation for epidemic measles at these missions and none for smallpox. Finally, there is no record of the receipt or acknowledgement of his services which Pattie states was given him by Father Cabortes of Mission Delores on July 8, 1829, nor was there a priest of that name at the mission at this time.³⁰

Although Pattie gives the impression that vaccination was relatively unknown in California, in this he is in serious error. Immunization against smallpox by inoculation with smallpox pus and vaccination with cowpox matter had long been practiced in the province. In 1785, King Charles III issued a Royal Cedula³¹ which ordered that the book *Disertación Fisico-Médica en la cual se Prescribe un Metodo Seguro para Preservar a los Pueblos de Viruelas hasta Lograr la Completa Extinción de Ellas en todo el Reyno* by Dr. Francisco Gil³² be distributed throughout the new world. Twenty copies of this book which deals with the use of isolation, quarantine, and inoculation in the control of smallpox were sent to California.³³ In 1797, as a result of the outbreak of smallpox in Mexico and Guatemala, the Viceroy of New Spain issued an edict containing thirteen sections of instructions about how to prevent and deal with a smallpox epidemic. Section eight of this edict which was sent to every presidio and mission prescribes the use of inoculation.³⁴

In 1798, at the instigation of Governor Diego de Borica, Dr. Pablo Soler, the Monterey physician, prepared a circular *Metodo de Practicar la Ynoculación de las Viruelas . . .* for distribution to the presidios and missions.³⁵

In 1804, Father Estevan Tapís, president of the missions, was advised by the Bishop of Sonora of the coming of Dr. Francisco Xavier de Balmis to New Spain to bring the “blessing” of vaccination to all.³⁶ While no member of this expedition visited Alta California, the fanfare surrounding it doubtless served to sustain interest in immunization against smallpox.

Georg H. Langsdorff, the German trained physician on the Rezanov expedition to California in 1806, mentions in the report of his visit that Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga had told him that cowpox had been present in the area south of Monterey for a long time and had been used for the successful inoculation of many people.³⁷

In 1810, the broadside *Reglamento de Orden de S. M. para que se Propague y Perpetúe la Vacuna en Nueva España*,³⁸ which was prepared by Dr. Balmis on his second visit to New Spain, was circulated in Alta California.³⁹

Vaccination is again mentioned in the records in 1817 when José Verdía⁴⁰ brought some vaccine matter to Monterey. In 1821, approximately one hundred children were vaccinated in Monterey when lymph was brought from Lima by the Russians.⁴¹

In 1823, the Mexican secretary of external and internal affairs, Lucas Ignacio Alamán, wrote to the governor of California encouraging the use of vaccination against smallpox.⁴² Then in 1829, William A. Richardson⁴³ was hired to vaccinate in the missions in Alta California and, according to Hubert H. Bancroft, this is the origin of his nickname “Doc.”⁴⁴

Worth mentioning because they support the absence of smallpox in Alta California in 1827-28 are two lesser known contemporary works published by European visitors. One was written by Captain Frederick W. Beechey who sailed up and down the California coast in the English ship *Blossom* from 1826 through 1828. In his *An Account of a Visit to California*, Beechey states that it was obvious that there had been no smallpox in Alta California for many years.⁴⁵ The other was authored by Auguste Bernard de Haut-Cilly, captain of the French ship *Le Héros*, who also visited the missions repeatedly during 1827 and 1828 and who mentions in his *Voyage autour du Monde, 1826-1829* that it appeared that the Alta California natives had escaped the ravages of smallpox.⁴⁶

In conclusion, measles, not smallpox, was the cause of the 1827-28 epidemic; Pattie’s account of the epidemic and the vaccination episode is just another “tall tale.” By proving that measles was the cause of the 1827-28 epidemic, the only one still attributed to smallpox, it is established that no epidemic of the latter disease occurred in Alta California during the Franciscan Mission Period (1769-1834).

NOTES

1. Sherbourne F. Cook, "Smallpox in Spanish and Mexican California (1770-1854)," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 7 (1939), 173.
2. Sherbourne F. Cook, "Population Trends among the California Indians," *Ibero-Americana*, 17 (1940), 23.
3. Henry Harris, *California's Medical Story* (San Francisco, 1932), 30.
4. *Ibid.*, 43.
5. Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco, 1888), 620.
6. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, 4 (San Francisco, 1915), 321.
7. James O. Pattie, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1833).
8. S. F. Cook, "Smallpox," *Bulletin of Medicine*, 178.
9. The mission registers are scattered but are in a good state of preservation except those for Mission San Luis Rey which are missing. They were found in the following locations: Mission San Diego de Alcalá, Chancery of Diocese of San Diego; San Juan Capistrano, Rectory of Mission; San Gabriel Arcángel, Rectory of Mission (since the author was not permitted access to the original records, the microfilms of the books which are in Huntington Library at San Marino were used); San Fernando, Chancery of Archdiocese of Los Angeles; San Buenaventura, Rectory of Mission; Santa Barbara, Mission Archives; Santa Inéz and La Purísima Concepción, Rectory of Mission Santa Inéz; San Luis Obispo, San Antonio de Padua, San Miguel Arcángel, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, San Carlos Borromeo, Santa Cruz, San Juan Bautista, Chancery of Diocese of Monterey; Santa Clara de Asís, Mission Archives; San José and San Rafael Arcángel, Chancery of Archdiocese of San Francisco; San Francisco de Asís (Delores), Rectory of Basilica; San Francisco Solano, Vallejo Papers, University of California, Bancroft Library.
10. These are found in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.
11. Fernando Ocaranza, *Historia de la Medecina en Mexico* (Mexico, D. F. 1934), 127.
12. Cook, "Population Trends," *Ibero-Americana*, 2.
13. Harris, *op. cit.*, 63.
14. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, 321.
15. Much valuable information about the early history of California was lost in the 1906 earthquake and fire.
16. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, III (San Francisco, 1886), 169.
17. *Ibid.*, 170.
18. Pattie, *op. cit.*, 188.
19. Joseph P. Hill, "New Light on Pattie and the Southwestern Fur Trade," *South-western Historical Quarterly*, 26 (1923), 254.
20. Milo Milton Quaife, Introduction, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (Chicago, 1930), XVIII.
21. William M. Goetzmann, Introduction, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (New York, 1962), IX.

22. *Ibid.*, X.
23. Pattie, *op. cit.*, 202.
24. *Ibid.*, 206.
25. *Ibid.*, 206.
26. *Ibid.*, 211.
27. California Archives, 48:90 University of California, Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Pattie's *Carta de Seguridad* states that he entered the province in March 1828.
28. Pattie, *op. cit.*, 217.
29. *Ibid.*, 216.
30. The only priest at Mission Delores (San Francisco de Asís) at this time was Father Tomás Esténaga.
31. Archivo General de la Nación, Reales Cédulas, Mexico, D. F.
32. Francisco Gil, *Disertación Físico-Médica en la cual se Prescribe un Método Seguro para Preservar a los Pueblos de Viruelas hasta Lograr la Completa Extinción de Ellas en Todo el Reyno*, (Madrid, 1784).
33. Ca. Arch., 3:338-341.
34. *Ibid.*, 8:423-431.
35. Copies of this circular are in the Archives of Missions Santa Barbara and Santa Clara de Asís, and it is quite possible that others exist.
36. Mission Santa Barbara Archives.
37. Georg H. Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807*, 2 (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1812), 181. This statement presents the possibility that vaccinations were being performed in California prior to the publication of Jenner's vaccination treatise in 1798.
38. Mission Santa Clara de Asís Archives.
39. Francisco Fernandez del Castillo, *Los Viajes de Don Francisco Xavier de Balms* (Mexico, D. F. 1960), 192.
40. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, 632.
41. Ca. Arch., 26:68.
42. *Ibid.*, 56:303.
43. Bancroft, *History of California*, 3:168.
44. *Ibid.*, 5:694.
45. Frederick W. Becchey, *An Account of a Visit to California* (London, 1831), 58.
46. Auguste Bernard du Haut-Cilly, *Voyage autour du Monde, 1826-1829*, 2 (Paris, 1834), 166.

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Russian Travel Notes and Journals as Sources for The History of California, 1800-1850

RUSSIAN SETTLEMENT, trade, and travel in Hispanic California resulted in a sizable and diverse legacy of journals, notes, reports, memoirs, and letters, many of which have been little used and some of which have only recently been uncovered. These valuable source materials for the history of California during its hectic transition from a pastoral and remote Spanish colony to a turbulent and focal American republic are discussed in the following article by Leonid A. Shur, a Soviet specialist on Russian sources for the history of the Americas, particularly Latin America. His article originally appeared in *Amerikansky yezhegodnik* [American Yearbook], (1971), pp. 295-319.

It would be difficult (although not impossible) for American scholars to gain access to the Soviet archives cited by Shur. Foreign scholars on official exchange programs are normally admitted to the major archives in Moscow and Leningrad; however, some cities (like Perm) and certain archives (like the Central State Archive of the Military-Naval Fleet) are closed to foreigners (indeed, Soviet scholars themselves are sometimes barred). The best guide in this matter is the just-published *Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the U.S.S.R.: Moscow and Leningrad* by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted (Princeton University Press, 1972). Microfilm copies (but almost certainly not English translations) might be obtained (more likely by institutions than by individuals) with the assistance of the U.S. State Department and/or Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., on an exchange basis (especially with the Bancroft Library), or by ordering from any representative of *Mezhhkniga*, the Soviet book exporting agency. Finally, it is hoped that these documentary materials will eventually be published; for example, Shur himself has already published the notes of Matyushkin, Lutke, and Wrangel concerning California and Mexico (L. A. Shur, *K beregam Novovo Sveta* [To the Shores of the New World], Moscow, 1971), and he is currently preparing Khlebnikov's California diary for publication. There is indeed a wealth of information about early California in Soviet depositories; the Perm

archive cited by Shur itself contains some 2,000 letters to and from Khlebnikov and correspondents in California (including up to 300 in Spanish).

CALIFORNIA'S FATE in the first half of the nineteenth century was closely tied to the history of several countries—Spain, Mexico, the United States, and Russia. Until the early 1800's California was one of the frontier provinces of the Spanish colonies in America—a viceroyalty of New Spain. After the war of independence (1810-1824), California became part of the Mexican Republic. But by the middle 1830's Californian separatists (mainly North Americans who had migrated there) were already promoting a plan for an "independent republic" of California and repeatedly fomenting revolts. Following the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, California was annexed by the U.S.A.

From 1812 to 1841 there were Russian settlements (Bodega and the village and fortress of Ross) in California belonging to the Russian-American Company. Since these Russian settlements existed in California for nearly thirty years, it seems proper to call this region Russian California¹ by analogy with Russian America, a term widely used in Soviet and foreign historiography.

The existence of Russian California and the extensive and varied commercial connections of the Russian-American Company with the Spanish and Mexican authorities throughout the first half of the nineteenth century lend special importance to Russian sources for the history of this area.

N. N. Bolkhovitinov has been the first in Soviet historiography to note that Russian documents—especially diplomatic reports—concerning Florida, Texas, and particularly California "have their own importance, and in some cases they can be considered primary sources."² No less valuable as sources for the history of California are the documentary materials of Russian travelers who visited this region in the first half of the 1800's.

If the reports, travel notes, and journals of Western European and North American travelers who visited California in 1800-1850 have long been widely used as sources for the study of the history of this region, similar Russian materials have been relatively little used by researchers. Thus, the American historian H. H. Bancroft in his well-known and fundamental *History of California*³ used an enormous number of sources—some 4,000 titles.⁴ About 1,650 titles, including 1,030 manuscripts, concern this period (up to 1848).⁵ Bancroft stressed that the travel notes and journals of seafarers are especially important for the study of the history of California in the early nineteenth century. Of the books of Russian travelers, however, Bancroft used only the works of G. H. Langsdorf, O. Ye. Kotzebue, and L. A. Choris.⁶

Bancroft used Russian materials primarily to write the history of Russian California. So he studied the well-known works of P. Tikhmenev, N. P. Rezanov, A. Markov, D. I. Zavalishin, and K. T. Khlebnikov.⁷ But even for

the history of Russian California, Bancroft used mostly published sources. Only a small part of the materials preserved in Russian archives were known to him.⁸

Having thus used Russian sources for the study of the history of Russian California, Bancroft practically ignored them for research on the history of California as a whole. This is characteristic of other American historians studying the history of California.

In our own historiography, documentary materials about Russian California have been cited in several works on the history of the Russian-American Company,⁹ in V. Potekhin's article "Ross Settlement," which mirrors documents from the lost archive of the Main Administration of the Russian-American Company in St. Petersburg,¹⁰ in the monographs of the Soviet researchers S. B. Okun¹¹ and N. N. Bolkhovitinov,¹² in S. G. Fyodorova's dissertation,¹³ and in a whole series of other works.

Recently, interest in Russian sources for the history of California and, more broadly, for the history of the countries of the Americas in general has manifestly increased both in Soviet and in foreign historiography.¹⁴

As early as 1932 Stanford University published a book devoted to the stopover at San Francisco of a Russian expedition on the ship *Rurik*.¹⁵ The book's compiler, August Mahr, included excerpts from the works of O. Ye. Kotzebue, L. A. Choris, I. I. [J. F.] Eschscholtz, and the German naturalist and poet A. Chamisso, who also participated in the expedition. A number of Spanish documents concerning the *Rurik's* stopover at San Francisco (a letter of Luis Arguello to the governor of California, notes about Ross by Gervacio Arguello, and others) were published for the first time in the book's appendix. In a foreword the compiler emphasized that the journals and notes of Russian mariners had considerable interest for the study of the history of San Francisco in the early nineteenth century.

In 1933 the California Historical Society published a collection of articles on *The Russians in California* which extensively utilized Russian sources.¹⁶ The notes of V. P. Tarakanov¹⁷ and Z. Chechenev¹⁸ and excerpts from A. Markov's *Russians on the Pacific Ocean*¹⁹ have been published in the *Early California Travel Series*. These materials include information on Russian California, Russian relations with the "local Spaniards," the missions, the Indians, etc.

The interest of foreign researchers in Russian sources for the history of California is attested by English translations of K. T. Khlebnikov's "Notes on California,"²⁰ memoirs and an article by A. G. Rotchev, the last manager of Ross,²¹ Ye. L. Chernykh's article "Agriculture in Upper California,"²² and others.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Russian sources for the history of California, even published ones, are still little known and relatively little used. Thus, in Soviet work on the history of this region—in general courses

on the history of the U.S.A., in monographs, etc.—Russian materials about California are still not used. As regards unpublished documents, most of them are simply unknown to researchers.

The author of this article attempts to recount the journals, notes, and letters of Russian travelers who visited California in the first half of the nineteenth century, focusing his attention primarily on recently discovered materials. The author also tries to present an original classification of these materials and to suggest basic questions for further study. An analysis or even a simple survey of all materials of this kind is not yet possible.

The fact is that to compile such a survey it would be necessary first of all to fully identify all Russian travelers who visited this region in the first half of the 1800's. This job, however, has still to be done. A second task—no less complex—is the uncovering of the published and unpublished notes, journals, and letters of the Russian travelers in Soviet archives and libraries (as well as in foreign ones). Some of them have been forgotten among the pages of obscure Russian periodicals of the last century or buried in archives among often very unexpected collections and funds. We still do not even know all the printed sources, let alone the manuscript ones, which have been only partially uncovered. It can certainly be assumed that much new material on the history of nineteenth century California will be found in the process of further research on this topic.

Classification of the documentary materials of Russian travelers who visited California in the first half of the 1800's is most sensible on the basis of their origin: (1) "journals," travel notes, and diaries of Russian circumnavigators; (2) notes and diaries of employees of the Russian-American Company; and (3) letters, diaries, materials, etc., of Russian scientists.

An important group of sources is formed by the materials of Russian round-the-world expeditions of the first half of the nineteenth century which called at California; some Russian ships even wintered there. The best known and most studied of these materials are the official reports on the voyages written by the ships' commanders. These contain information on the life and customs of the population of California and its history, contemporary political situation, and culture.

Members of these circumnavigations—naval officers—kept diaries, made travel notes, and wrote letters home. Only some of these materials were subsequently published; heretofore most of them have been forgotten in state and personal archives and in manuscript divisions of libraries and have remained unknown to researchers.

The manuscript journals of F. F. Matyushkin and F. P. Lutke, who made their first circumnavigation in 1817-1819 on the sloop *Kamchatka* under the command of V. M. Golovnin, were uncovered comparatively recently and brought to the attention of researchers. Matyushkin's journal was extensively used for the first time by Yu. V. Davydov in his book,²³ and

Lutke's diary was put into scholarly circulation by B. N. Komissarov.²⁴

The journals of Matyushkin and Lutke were not intended for publication, and this is precisely why they are especially interesting. Their unofficial character is revealed above all by the great frankness of the authors in comparison with the published report of V. M. Golovnin, the ship's commander.²⁵ Matyushkin's and Lutke's journals, which were written in 1817-1819, reflect the pre-Decembrist sentiments of progressive Russian youth of the early nineteenth century. Both journals serve as excellent sources for the study of the history, ethnography, and culture of California in the early 1800's.

The *Kamchatka* reached the port of Monterey—California's chief town at that time—in September, 1818. During an anchorage of nearly three weeks Matyushkin and Lutke not only toured Monterey but also visited the nearby mission of San Carlos. Both young officers left detailed descriptions of Monterey and San Carlos Mission and made notes on the history of this region.

The entries concerning California in Lutke's journal are very extensive; he describes his meetings with the commandant of Monterey's presidio, José María Estudillo, with the governor of Alta California, Pablo Vincente de Sola, and other Spanish officials, with missionaries, etc.

Lutke describes Monterey thusly: "The presidio of Monterey is nothing other than a white stone and plaster square whose sides are about 100 sazhen [700 feet] long. This definition very accurately defines and correctly conceptualizes a presidio. There are neither windows nor chimneys which could have rendered this definition incorrect; in short, this building greatly resembles the squares of Lima's pantheon, with the difference that the dead are kept there and the living here."²⁶

Lutke's journal vividly reflects the backwardness of California, the most remote of Mexico's provinces, the inertia and incompetence of the colonial administration, and so forth. He concludes that "lands which could be made a source of wealth and prosperity for millions of people remain useless. . . ."²⁷

Lutke formed the following unfavorable impression of the military strength of the Spaniards in California: "Monterey, which is the capital of New California and its chief naval base, has a garrison of no more than 100 men. . . . Sitka is a Gibraltar in comparison with Monterey."²⁸

After Monterey the *Kamchatka* stopped in Little Bodega Bay (or, as it was called by the Russians, Rummyantsev Bay). Lutke became acquainted with the manager of the village and fortress of Ross, Ivan Kuskov, and he provides very interesting information on the state of affairs in Russian California at that time.

Matyushkin's "journal" also contains much information on California. It is true that Matyushkin describes Monterey in less detail than Lutke, but his "journal" compensates with very interesting information on the Spanish missions in California, the condition of the Indians, etc. In Matyushkin's entries

relating to Little Bodega there is interesting data on the beginning of ship-building in Russian California, as well as a detailed description of the Indians living there. Matyushkin's notes on relations between the Russian settlements and the Spanish authorities in California, especially his accounts of Kuskov, also merit attention.²⁹

The materials of M. N. Vasilyev's round-the-world expedition of 1819-1822 are of much interest for the study of the history of California, since the ships *Discovery* and *Loyal* wintered for more than three months at San Francisco.

Until very recently it was usually stated in the historical geographical literature that Vasilyev, the leader of the expedition and the commander of the *Discovery*, and G. S. Shishmarev, the commander of the *Loyal*, had not left descriptions of their trips. It was thought that the sole surviving sources for the study of this voyage were extracts from the notes of a member of the expedition, Warrant Officer K. Gillesem (Hilsen), published in 1849 in *Notes of the Fatherland*, and the recently discovered manuscript "Notes on the Voyage of the Naval Sloop *Loyal* to Bering Strait and Around the World . . ." by A. P. Lazarev (published in 1950).³⁰

In 1959, however, the ethnographer and historian D. D. Tumarkin found Vasilyev's rough notes on his circumnavigation of 1819-1822 in the Central State Archive of the Military-Naval Fleet of the USSR [Leningrad].³¹ Tumarkin used that part of this material which concerns the Hawaiian Islands in his monograph.³²

But these are not all the finds. Quite recently the geographer V. V. Kuznetsova discovered in the same archive the travel journal of the warrant officer of the sloop *Loyal*, N. D. Shishmarev.³³ Finally, in the papers of the historian of the Russian fleet, A. V. Viskovaty, in the Manuscript Division of the M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library [Leningrad] I found fragments of the travel journal of the commander of the sloop *Loyal*, G. S. Shishmarev.

The ships *Discovery* and *Loyal* stayed at San Francisco from October 27, 1820, to February 11, 1821. During this time the Russian officers succeeded in thoroughly acquainting themselves with California, visited many missions (where they observed the Indians), and so on. In Vasilyev's surviving rough notes the history of the occupation of California by the Spaniards is briefly recounted, a detailed description of the port and fortifications of San Francisco is given, and the life and customs of the Spanish officers and soldiers of California are described. The Spanish missions in California which were frequently visited by the officers of the Russian ships—San Francisco, San José, San Rafael, Santa Clara, and others—are described in particular detail.

For example, here is how Vasilyev describes San Rafael Mission: "In December we went to San Rafael Mission. It was founded [in] 1817 and is the most recent. There is one priest—Padre Juan Amorós—and 250 Indians alto-

gether there; it is situated on a slope, and a church, a house for the padres, storehouses, and workshops have been built. There is a building where the women and small children live; the other Indians are in huts thatched with rushes—just like they usually live in the hills. North of S[an] Francisco on the other side of the bay would be a better location. . . .”³⁴

The journey of the Russian sailors in longboats on San Francisco Bay to Santa Clara Mission is described in detail in Vasilyev’s notes. He left a detailed account of this large and rich mission, where there were about 1,400 Indians. He remarks that “in the workshops . . . from wool the women weave shawls, which all the Indians wear, and they also make shirts and skirts from wool. The women dress hides and mark them with various designs. . . . There is a small joinery and a farriery; all the missions sorely need tools for the workshops; the mill is not unlike a hand mill, but with more stones, which are activated by a mule. In the storehouse there are ample wheat, beans, peas, and maize, some garden vegetables—onions, peppers, garlic, potatoes—and some dressed hides and finished shawls. In the orchard, which is rather large, there are whole boulevards of apples and pears and several beds for garden vegetables.”³⁵

Vasilyev also recorded his observations on the state of defenses in the port of San Francisco, in whose fortress stood old cannons of the seventeenth century. They were in such bad conditions that he remarks, “I do not know whether balls can be fired from them.”³⁶

The information cited by Vasilyev about the war for independence which was then flaring throughout Spanish America is very interesting. From the utterances of Spanish officers and monks in San Francisco he describes in his journal the capture of Monterey in 1819 by rebels who had come on two ships from Buenos Aires. “The insurgents took the battery, spiked the cannons, and looted and burned the presidio,” Vasilyev notes.³⁷

During the Russian expedition’s sojourn at San Francisco it was rumored that Mexican rebels had arrived in California. “In 1819 and at present rumors from the Indians say that some people with families have arrived within four days ride of San José Mission and are heading there,” writes Vasilyev. “They are building fortifications, number up to 1,000, have much clothing, and are armed. Three years ago, it is said, several families of Spanish malcontents came from Mexico, and perhaps it is them again, for it is not known where they went. In May the commandant in the port of [San] Francisco with 40 mounted soldiers wanted to see whether this was true.”³⁸

In Vasilyev’s notes there are some data on Russian California, based upon information received from Kuskov. During the stopover at San Francisco of the ships *Discovery* and *Loyal*, Kuskov wrote Vasilyev several times; these letters are preserved in Vasilyev’s archive.

His notes are especially interesting for the study of the way of life of the Indians of California. Perhaps in no other published source for the ethnog-

raphy of this region are there such detailed descriptions of the life of the Indians of California at the Spanish missions.

A great deal of information on California—on San Francisco, the missions, the way of life of the “local Spaniards” and the Indians, etc.—can also be found in the unpublished journal of N. D. Shishmarev, warrant officer of the sloop *Loyal*.³⁹

Vasilyev’s and Shishmarev’s manuscripts provide much more information on California than the published materials of this expedition (Gillessem’s and Lazarev’s notes). Thus, Lazarev in his chapter on California gives only a very brief description of San Francisco, does not describe the missions and his meetings with Spanish officers and officials in such detail, does not give his observations of the Indians, and so on.⁴⁰

Such brevity is also typical of the travel journal of the commander of the sloop *Loyal*, G. S. Shishmarev. Its entries concerning California contain many purely naval details (calculations of bearings, meteorological observations, etc.); Shishmarev comments very briefly on California itself and its inhabitants: “Here I found Commandant Don Luis Arguello, an old friend who was commandant when the *Rurik* came here;⁴¹ he was very happy about our arrival. It is not difficult to become acquainted with others, as well as with the missionaries, who are always glad at the arrival of any vessel, for they will accept anything because of their poverty, and we especially noticed that particularly the priests, who are great spongers, not only ask but demand, and they feel that we are obliged to give them presents; they, on the other hand, give, as they say, and then demand money. Having become acquainted with the priests, we often went to San Francisco Mission, and on January 13 [24] almost all the officers, including those on watch, went on two longboats from our [ship] and the *Discovery* to the missions of Santa Clara and San José.”⁴²

So the recently discovered manuscripts of Vasilyev and Shishmarev are of special interest as sources for the history of California in the 1820’s.

Of the materials discovered in recent years, a letter of the sailor and Decembrist M. K. Kyukhelbeker [Kukelbaker], written during his round-the-world voyage on the sloop *Apollon* (1821-1824), should also be mentioned.⁴³ Kyukhelbeker confides his impressions of the voyage, recounts the passage of the sloop from Novo-Arkhangelsk [Sirka] to San Francisco for wintering, describes California, and mentions the Spanish missionaries exploiting the Indians.⁴⁴

Another group of sources comprises the notes and journals of employees of the Russian-American Company, which was closely connected with California. The company traded extensively with California, and company ships sailed annually from Sitka to California’s ports for grain; from 1833 to 1839 the company had an agent in San Francisco. The company’s closest ties with California prevailed in 1812-1841, when the village and fortress of Ross existed there.

Especially interesting as sources for the history of California are the documents from the archives of the managers of Ross (I. A. Kuskov, K. Schmidt, P. Shelikhov, P. S. Kostromitinov, and A. G. Rotchev) and the governors of Russian America (A. A. Baranov, L. A. Hagemeister, S. I. Yanovsky, M. I. Muravyov, P. Ye. Chistyakov, F. P. Wrangel, I. A. Kupreyanov, and A. K. Etolin), as well as K. T. Khlebnikov and many other employees of the Russian-American Company.

Unfortunately, most of the archives of these individuals have not been preserved, and some have not survived intact. Thus, for example, only a small portion of the archive of Kuskov—the founder of the settlement of Ross in California—has survived. This archive is kept in the Manuscript Division of the V. I. Lenin State Public Library of the USSR [Moscow]. It was briefly described in 1952,⁴⁵ and within several years it was mentioned in the historical geographical literature;⁴⁶ finally, quite recently some of its material was used in Bolkhovitinov's monograph.⁴⁷ At the same time, this archive has not been used in many works on the history of Russian America or even in specialized works about Kuskov.⁴⁸

Most of Kuskov's archival material is business correspondence between Baranov and himself. The archive's documents tell of the founding of the fortress and village of Ross, trade relations with the Spaniards in California, etc. Unfortunately, Kuskov's journal or any notes have not been preserved among his papers.

Of all the Russian-American Company employees of the first half of the nineteenth century, K. T. Khlebnikov may have been most closely associated with California and have known this region better than anyone.

Khlebnikov stayed in Russian America from 1817 to 1832 and frequently visited California. Regrettably, not all of his trips have been recorded in the published sources. Thus, in Bancroft's well-known register, dedicated to California's first settlers (and originally published as an appendix to his seven-volume *History of California*), it is stated that Khlebnikov was in California in 1820, 1825-1826, and 1830-1831 only.⁴⁹ However, I have succeeded in establishing from Khlebnikov's journal⁵⁰ that there were many more such trips.

Khlebnikov first visited California in 1817 en route to Russian America from St. Petersburg on the ship *Kutuzov*. He spent two weeks at Rumyantsev (Bodega) Bay and Ross and a whole month (October 1-30) at San Francisco.⁵¹

Khlebnikov's next trip to California was in June-October of 1820. Its purpose, like all subsequent ones, was the purchase of grain and other foodstuffs for Russian America. Khlebnikov visited Ross, Bodega, Monterey, Santa Cruz, and Santa Barbara.⁵² Thereafter he journeyed to California almost annually. In October-December of 1822 Khlebnikov was at Bodega, Ross, Monterey, and San Francisco.⁵³ From October, 1823, to January, 1824, he again traveled throughout California (Bodega, Ross, Monterey, Santa Cruz,

San Francisco).⁵⁴ In June-November of 1824 he took a long trip throughout California. On May 24, 1824, Khlebnikov left Sitka on the brig *Baikal*, reached Bodega on June 3, and passed several days at Ross; at the end of June the *Baikal* arrived at Monterey, where Khlebnikov lived for several months ("August 11 [22]. Mr. Etolin⁵⁵ has gone to Sitka aboard the *Baikal*, I have remained ashore," he wrote in his journal⁵⁶). Then Khlebnikov visited Santa Cruz, Bodega, and Ross (September-November of 1824), and at the end of December, 1824, he returned to Sitka.⁵⁷ In October, 1825-January, 1826, he traveled the same route—Bodega, Ross, Monterey, and San Francisco.⁵⁸

In September, 1826-February, 1827, there was a new long trip throughout California (Bodega-Monterey-San Pedro-Catalina Islands-San Diego-Monterey-Santa Cruz-San Francisco).⁵⁹ During his stay at Monterey in December, 1826, Khlebnikov went to San Juan Mission, and in January-February of 1827 he went from San Francisco to San José and Santa Clara missions and to a new mission (evidently San Francisco de Solano Mission, founded in 1823).⁶⁰ In September, 1827, Khlebnikov again headed for California on the brig *Golovnin* and visited Bodega, Monterey, and Santa Cruz.⁶¹ Within a year he returned to California on the brig *Kyakhta*.⁶² During the brig's anchorage at San Francisco in September, 1828, he went to Santa Clara Mission several times, visited San Pablo Rancho, and was at San José Mission.⁶³ In October, 1829, Khlebnikov visited Monterey en route to Chile.⁶⁴ In the fall of 1830, as usual, he headed for the coast of California. In December, 1830-January, 1831, Khlebnikov visited San José and Santa Clara missions and a new mission (again evidently San Francisco de Solano) several times on trade matters and went to San Pablo Rancho and others.⁶⁵ Finally, in December, 1832, he paid his last visit to California while returning to his homeland aboard the sloop *America*. From San Francisco he rode to the surrounding missions (San Francisco, San José, and others) and visited San Antonio Rancho and other places.⁶⁶

So Khlebnikov came to know California very well and became acquainted with almost all well-known Californians—Spanish and Mexican governors, officers, monks from various missions, North American settlers, and the like.

Khlebnikov compiled some "Notes on California," which he sent to St. Petersburg. They were published in the journal *Son of the Fatherland* in 1829.⁶⁷

These "Notes" are divided into several chapters. In the first two chapters the author gives a short outline of the condition of Spanish America after the war for independence. Subsequent chapters are devoted to a description of California. Khlebnikov describes the missions in detail and compiles a special table listing all the missions of Old and New California and showing the year of establishment, the number of Indians, etc.; a description of the fortresses and settlements of California is also given. Then the author describes

in detail the geographical location, terrain, climate, flora, and fauna. Special chapters are devoted to the character of the inhabitants of California and their way of life, as well as to the region's Indians. In the "Notes" Khlebnikov gives a description of the communication links with Mexico, California's military strength, etc.

Khlebnikov's "Notes on California" are an important source for the history and ethnography of California. At the same time, it should be mentioned that his diary or travel journal, which I have already mentioned, is very short, containing only the itineraries of his travels. I have not found travel notes or journals of his trips through California in his papers, which are now kept in the State Archive of Perm Oblast.

However, many documents relating to California are preserved in Khlebnikov's papers in the Perm archive.⁶⁸ Most of them are letters from Kuskov, Schmidt, Shelikhov, Kostromitinov, and others. Shelikhov, manager of Ross, wrote Khlebnikov on November 25, 1825 as follows: "I do not know what I am to do with the Spanish Indians; Padre Juan [Amorós] pesters me by continually sending for them; meanwhile, the chief of the Bodega Indians, known to you as Valenila, has asked me not to return his band of Indians to the Spaniards, saying that they belong to the Russians and in no way see themselves as subject to the Spaniards and that although some of them have been christened and have lived for a while with the Spaniards, they were all captured perfidiously at Little Bodega in Russian dwellings."⁶⁹

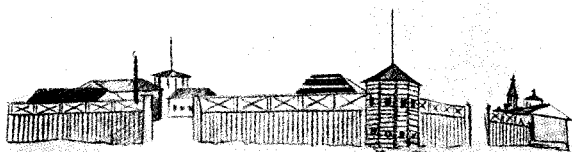
After his return home Khlebnikov's correspondents continued to write him about the situation in California (letters from V. L. Illyashevich, N. Ya. Rozenberg, P. S. Kostromitinov, and others from 1833 to 1837). Illyashevich wrote Khlebnikov in St. Petersburg thusly: "Our affairs in California and the new colonization which Colonel Padrés is undertaking [the Híjar-Padrés colony] are, I think, well known to you . . . so I shall talk about only those changes that I saw in S[an] Francisco Bay. . . . In early 1834 the Indians were set free and the padres were removed from the missions, assigned a salary (in local products) of a thousand piasters a year, and appointed administrators [comisionados]: at S[an] Francisco Mission—Joaquín Estudillo (Martínez's brother-in-law), at S[an] Rafael Mission—Ignacio Martínez, and at the new mission—[Mariano] Guadalupe [Vallejo]. Fourteen Indians live in the first of these missions, and the others are empty."⁷⁰ Later the author describes the desolation and decay of the missions and remarks: "In S[an] Mateo—if you remember, blankets and broadcloth were made here—everything has been abandoned, and nobody obeys Joaquín when the oxen have to be driven . . . he is having difficulty finding a vaquero. Not only can he no longer recruit rowers for the lancha, but the skipper demands payment in advance."⁷¹

Kostromitinov wrote Khlebnikov on January 6, 1837, from San Francisco about a revolt of the Californian separatists: "A revolution has begun in



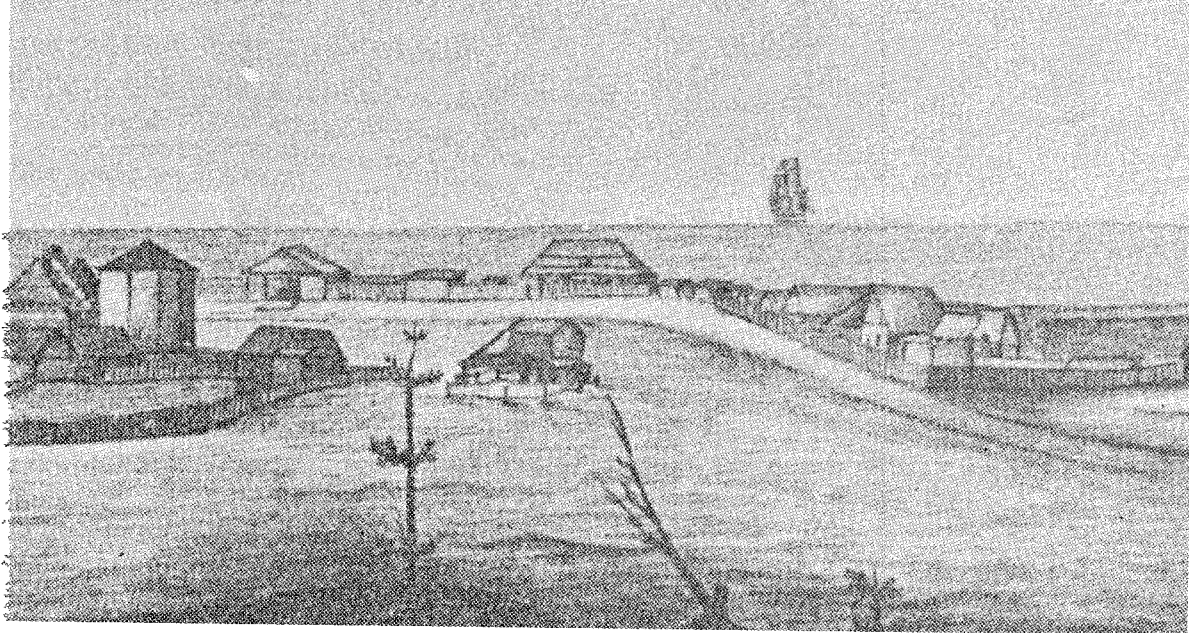
Fresh Look at Russian California

Never before published in California, the scenes in this portfolio were drawn by I. G. Voznesensky, a Russian zoologist and ethnographer who visited Russian California in the early 1840's. The sketches of the village (above) and fortress (below) of Ross near Bodega Bay, outposts maintained by the Russian American Company between 1812 and 1841, are in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. (See p. 58.)



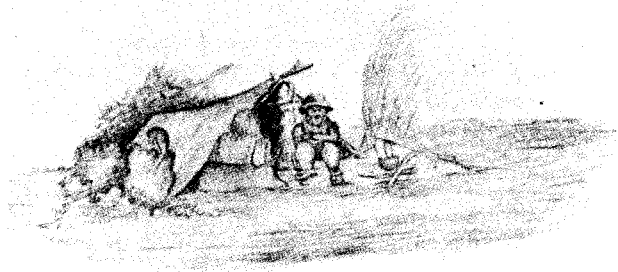
In his journal the curious ethnologist sketched a San Jago Indian (above) and an Indian woman (left) of New Albion.

RIGHT: With careworn ease, the Spaniard Don Garcia posed for Voznesensky.





Before the Russians withdrew from California in 1841, I. G. Voznesensky recorded the pensive face of an Indian vaquero (above), a creole of New Albion (right), and a European colonist squatting before his humble home (below).



California. The governor and other Mexicans have been expelled, and it is uncertain how all this will end. I think, however, that the Mexican Government has not ignored the latest ploys of the Californians, especially since foolish heads want to completely separate from Mexico."⁷²

In a letter to Khlebnikov on April 28, 1836, from Novo-Arkhangelsk Rozenberg reported the latest news from California (about the death of Governor José Figueroa, etc.) and wrote: "I am very sorry that I could not obtain more complete information, otherwise I would have tried to write in greater detail about local circumstances, knowing that the Californians are as interested in you as you are in California."⁷³

Of special interest in Khlebnikov's archive are the numerous letters from residents of California—merchants, officers, missionaries, etc. These letters in Spanish and in English were sent to Khlebnikov from Monterey, San Francisco, Santa Clara, and other places in California. Among them are several letters from the monk Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, the author of many works on the languages of the Indians.⁷⁴ Most of the letters concern trade matters. The Russian-American Company's trade relations with California are also the main theme of letters of G. Terentyev and N. Molvistov, company foremen, from San Diego, San Gabriel, and other missions.

All these materials are excellent sources for the study of the commercial-economic relations of the Russian-American Company with California in the 1820's and 1830's, as well as for the economic history of the region.

Many of Khlebnikov's manuscript materials concerning California are found in other archives in our country. It is possible that some Khlebnikov letters are preserved in California's archives, especially in the Bancroft Library. Searches for Khlebnikov documents could lead to very interesting finds.

Along with Khlebnikov, F. P. Wrangel, the famous scientist-geographer and traveler and governor of Russian America from 1830 to 1835, was closely associated with California and knew this region well. In his papers, which are found in the Central State Historical Archive of the Estonian SSR in Tartu, there are many documents about California.

Wrangel's archive has been only slightly exploited by researchers. A. I. Andreyev reviewed it briefly,⁷⁵ and part of the archive's material was first used by Yu. V. Davydov.⁷⁶ Perhaps of most interest in Wrangel's archive is his journal—which I found—of his trip in 1835-1836 from Sitka to St. Petersburg via Mexico.⁷⁷

Wrangel's journey to Mexico was connected with an unofficial diplomatic mission of the Russian-American Company and its backer, the tsarist government. In the 1820's and 1830's the Russian-American Company was faced with the problem of strengthening the position of its settlement of Ross in California. In order for Ross to become a base for supplying Russian America with grain, the territory of this colony had to be expanded at the expense

of fertile land in the valley of the Slavyanka [Russian] River. Wrangel, who was well acquainted with the position of the Russian-American Company's colonies in America, understood the importance and urgency of resolving this question. He therefore suggested that he enter into negotiations with the Mexican Government with a view to Mexico ceding the valley of the Slavyanka River to the Russian-American Company in exchange for Russia granting official diplomatic recognition to the Mexican Republic.⁷⁸

This is why many passages in Wrangel's journal, which he kept during his trip, were devoted to California. In his journal Wrangel describes in detail his talks with the Mexican government about Russian California and reproduces his letters and memoranda to the republic's government, as well as the reply of Mexico's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, etc.⁷⁹

Quite a few passages in the journal describe California, since en route from Sitka to San Blas—a Mexican port on the Pacific Ocean—Wrangel stopped at Monterey in December, 1835.

Wrangel visited San Carlos Mission and left a picture of its position in 1835. He had first visited Monterey in 1818 during his round-the-world voyage on the sloop *Kamchatka*, so he could compare the situation of the missions in 1835 with their previous condition. He writes: "Remembering this establishment from 1818, when the missions flourished under the administration of the Spanish padres, I was dumbfounded by the sight of destruction, poverty, and unconcern which struck us at every step and on all sides; here, where a large building had stood to house the Indians and their workshops, there were now to be seen only ruins—outer walls several feet high and piles of stones; the fine fruit orchard was neglected, open to cattle, and deprived of its high stone fence, which had protected it from the cool sea breezes; the good and venerable padre from Castille who had received guests cordially and engaged them in interesting conversation had now been replaced by a Mexican who exhibited apathy towards everything around him and displeasure with the world and himself."⁸⁰

Reflected in Wrangel's journal are the policies of the Mexican authorities in relation to California, the further penetration of this region by American settlers, and so forth. For example, it is noted in the journal that "Monterey changed after 1818 but in the opposite way that the missions did. The opening of California's ports to all nations for trade and the permitting of foreigners to settle here attracted many business men and adventurers, mostly Englishmen and citizens of the Northern United States, who with customary ingenuity have built high quality and fairly sizable houses, established shops, and rejuvenated Monterey. The buildings are scattered over a wide area without order or symmetry, and the town—still without *streets*—can boast of a large number of *squares*..."⁸¹

Wrangel remarks that "every foreigner who declares himself a Catholic and wants to become a citizen of California is accepted as such without the slightest difficulty; as a citizen he is allotted land in proportion to his means

for buying cattle and hiring workers to cultivate land, and he must present evidence to this effect."⁸²

The journal's author stressed that California was essentially still unexplored and that the Mexican government did not pay due attention to the development of this remote region of the republic. Wrangel expounded a plan for the economic development of California that had been advanced in 1833 by the vice-president of Mexico, Gómez Farías, who tried to implement a broad program of liberal-democratic reforms in his country. In particular he proposed the construction of a shipyard and an admiralty at San Francisco, the reorganization of the missions, etc. However, these plans did not materialize because General Santa Ana removed Farías from power.

Among Wrangel's papers concerning California, mention should be made of the recently discovered manuscript "Indians of Upper California," which is a chapter from his book *Information on the Russian Possessions in America*.⁸³ The author's deep respect for the Indians and their culture is a feature of this ethnographic sketch.

In addition, of considerable interest are Wrangel's letters to Lutke from Sitka (1830-1835) which contain many passages on events in California at this time.

Journals and notes on trips to California written by employees of the Russian-American Company are preserved not only in Soviet archives. Thus, the Alaska Archives (Juneau) house the "Travel Journal of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov Kept During His Trip to California and Back from June 1 [12] to October 13 [24], 1836." There is a copy in the Bancroft Library. Thanks to the kindness of the American historian R. Bartley⁸⁴ and the directors of the Bancroft Library, I was able to familiarize myself with this journal.

I. Ye. Veniaminov (Innokenty, 1797-1879)—missionary, Bishop of Kamchatka, and then Metropolitan of Moscow—spent many years in Russian America and learned the languages of the natives. His works—"The Population of the Russian Possessions and Its Distribution," "Remarks About the Kolosh [Tlingit] and Kodiak Languages and Partly About Other Russian Americans," "Myths and Superstitions of the Kolosh"—are rightly considered classics, and modern scientists-ethnographers are constantly using them in their research.

Veniaminov's "Travel Journal" is still little known even to American researchers, although in 1951 the Canadian professor R. Pierce translated it into English (the manuscript translation is preserved in the Bancroft Library). Veniaminov's "Travel Journal" has been used only in Professor E. O. Essig's work on Russian California.⁸⁵

In his "Journal" Veniaminov describes his trip to Ross and from there to the port of San Francisco via San Rafael Mission on the bay. From San Francisco he went to San José and Santa Clara Missions, which he also describes.

Veniaminov was struck most of all by California's physical environment

In his journal he writes: "It must be confessed that the happy combination of California's air, the clear, blue sky, the location, and the vegetation peculiar to this latitude can at first strike and charm anyone who was born [north of] and had not been south of 52 degrees, especially the inhabitants of Unalaska and Sitka."⁸⁶

There is an interesting description of San José Mission in 1836, when most of California's missions had already been abolished. Veniaminov remarks that "only this mission and the one nearest to it [Santa Clara Mission] enjoy the former [pre-secularization] rights—to own and to use Indians as slaves; but the Mexican Government has taken the Indians from the others and given them the freedom of citizenship or, more correctly, the freedom to be idle. But this mission is very well organized, and the Indians are very content with the present padre, who feeds and clothes them rather well. Here there is a primary school, in which up to 40 creole and Indian children are taught."⁸⁷

Veniaminov spent most of his time at Ross. He provides information on the number of Ross' settlers, their occupations, etc. In particular he notes that "Fort Ross is not large, but it is a quite well built settlement or village consisting of 24 houses and several huts for the Aleuts and surrounded on all sides by plowland and forest; in the middle there is a small, square, wooden stockade with 2 blockhouses and several cannons and containing a chapel, the manager's house, the business office, a storehouse, barracks, and several dwellings for pious residents [Lenten fasters?]. Here there are 154 males and 106 females, a total of 260 souls, including 120 Russians, 51 creoles, 50 Kodiak Aleuts, and 39 converted Indians."⁸⁸

In the Bancroft Library there are several manuscripts connected with Russian travel to California. These are the journals of Zakhar Chechenev (1818-1828), which I have already mentioned, the notes of Vasily Sokolov on A. Markov's trip from Okhotsk to California and Mazatlan,⁸⁹ and others.

The works of Russian scientists who visited California in the nineteenth century constitute a special group among the materials of Russian travelers.

The heyday of geographical and ethnographical study of Russian America dates from the 1830's and 1840's.⁹⁰ Since the Russian-American Company owned Ross in California until 1841, Russian scientific expeditions working in Russian America naturally visited California. The zoologist and ethnographer I. G. Voznesensky, who passed ten years in Russian America and Kamchatka (1839-1849), rendered much service in the collection of ethnographical and historical materials on California. However, until recently the journey of this Russian scientist throughout California was little known. Suffice to say that Bancroft did not know about Voznesensky's stay in California; Voznesensky is not mentioned in his register of California's pioneers. Voznesensky's name did not appear in American works until the end of the nineteenth century.⁹¹ Subsequent American works have merely mentioned

his name and have not given any information on his work in California.⁹²

The ethnographer K. K. Gilzen (1864-1918) was the first to turn to the study of Voznesensky's ethnographical collections and manuscripts. He searched academic archives for materials on Voznesensky's journey, scoured the personal archives of travelers, and so forth. On the basis of these documents Gilzen prepared the book *Description of the Travels of I. G. Voznesensky in N-W America . . .*, which, unfortunately, was not published and is now preserved in Gilzen's archive.⁹³ Gilzen's archive contains materials collected by him for a biography of Voznesensky, as well as the text of a report on Voznesensky read by him at a session of the Russian Entomological Society on November 7, 1916.⁹⁴ Of the works about Voznesensky prepared by Gilzen, only a biographical sketch of the traveler was published (1916).⁹⁵

A brief description of Voznesensky's papers appeared in the *Survey of Archival Materials* of the Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR⁹⁶ and later in V. F. Gnucheva's work.⁹⁷

All recent works about Voznesensky and his archive have been guided by Gilzen's investigations; in particular they have extensively used his unpublished book on Voznesensky's journey, as well as separate pages of the journal deciphered by him, for the journal's crude writing is very difficult to read.⁹⁸ Among these works I should mention Ye. E. Blomkvist's well-executed publication of Voznesensky's drawings, as well as R. G. Lyapunova's article.⁹⁹

In 1967 the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences issued a special collection of articles dedicated to the memory of Voznesensky.¹⁰⁰ The works of Lyapunova, D. A. Sergeyev, E. V. Zibert, and other researchers describe the ethnographical collections gathered by Voznesensky in Russian America. The collections were obtained from the region's native inhabitants at a time when their distinctive culture had not yet been destroyed. Voznesensky's unique collections are priceless ethnographical sources.

Voznesensky's manuscript materials (journals, notes, letters), however, are less known than his collections and have not been used at all as a source for the history of California. Meanwhile, in his manuscripts there is much interesting information on the history of California in the late 1830's and early 1840's.

Voznesensky spent more than a year—from July, 1840, to September, 1841—in northern California.¹⁰¹ He arrived at Bodega Bay from Sitka on the ship *Elena* and then went to Ross, where with Rotchev's assistance he collected zoological and ethnographical items. During his stay at Ross from August to October of 1840 Voznesensky made several excursions, such as northward to Cape Mendocino, where he spent several days in the mountains "among thick forests of gigantic pines—redwoods and majestic cedars." On October 20, 1840, Voznesensky rode to San Francisco, where he stayed

until February, 1841. "In these four months," Voznesensky remarks in his "Report," "I visited many environs on the shores of the great bay: on its southern side—Santa Clara and a pueblo, on its eastern side—San Leandro, San Antonio, San Paulo, and Pinoli, on its northern side—Napa, Petaluma, Sonoma (the residence of the military governor-general of Upper California), and on its western side—San Francisco Mission, Cape Diago, and others."¹⁰² In February-March of 1841 Voznesensky visited "New Helvetia," the estate of Captain John Sutter on the Sacramento River. Here he also obtained valuable ethnographical collections. In early April Voznesensky returned to Ross, in May-June he investigated the Slavyanka River and the plain around Ross, and in September of 1841 he left California together with all the residents of Ross. So Voznesensky was a witness to the last days of Russian California, which, as is known, was sold to John Sutter.

During his Californian trip Voznesensky kept a journal, most of which has survived. He wrote the journal in small, machine-made notebooks in ink and pencil. The writing is small, very hurried and illegible. The text often alternates with lists of zoological and ethnographical collections (sent by him to St. Petersburg by parcel) and the like. In some notebooks there are drawings which illustrate the text. Voznesensky wrote academician F. F. Brandt about his journals on November 21, 1846 (already at the end of his journey): "I kept a continuous and reliable journal or diary of my trip from the day of my departure from St. Petersburg; piles of these booklets (in octavo sheets, bought for this [purpose] in Copenhagen on the advice of Professor Postels) and odd pages were written as time and place permitted, sometimes in ink and sometimes in pencil; [so] that putting the materials and correspondence in order upon my return will take much work and time."¹⁰³

Voznesensky intended to polish his journal entries and to compile a detailed journal from them of his trip. In one of his reports to academician Brandt in 1848 he wrote: "The long round-the-world voyage will give me time to put in systematic order the journal of my trip and the separate notes, which I shall probably present to your excellency upon my arrival in St. Petersburg."¹⁰⁴

Unfortunately, the traveler did not manage to realize his good intention, the journals remained unpolished, and Voznesensky did not compile a composite "journal" of his entire trip.

Voznesensky's Californian journals were first read by Gilzen. He partially deciphered them and from them made a number of excerpts for his ethnographical observations.¹⁰⁵ In his unpublished work on Voznesensky Gilzen noted: "In his numerous booklets-journals we find very interesting descriptions of the sea voyage to California and the individual excursions to the interior of the country accomplished by Voznesensky. Besides detailed descriptions, they contain brief ethnographical remarks on the Californ[ian] Indians which I shall cite below."¹⁰⁶

However, most of Voznesensky's notebooks concerning California have not yet been deciphered or used by researchers. As a result of familiarization with Voznesensky's papers, I have established that in California he had a relatively wide circle of acquaintances. In San Francisco he lived at Yerba Buena with a French emigré, apparently Victor Prudhon, who had arrived in California in 1834; in 1838-1840 he had a shop and a tavern in San Francisco.¹⁰⁷ Voznesensky met the captain of the port of San Francisco, A. Richardson, the hotel owner J. J. Vioget, John Sutter, missionaries, and others.

Voznesensky's journal contains very interesting information about California's physical environment and the way of life of the population (not only the Indians) and includes descriptions of some ranchos and their Californian owners, as well as of settlers from other countries.

Here, for example, is how the author's trip in November, 1840, from San Francisco to San Antonio Rancho is described in the journal: "Today I again got ready for the road—to sail in the evening at high tide to San Antonio (almost abeam—no!—more correctly, southwest of Yerba Buena). . . . The anchor was raised, and we quietly left the shore. . . . The night was lovely, the full moon rose high in the dark blue sky, and the limpid clouds moved swiftly and covered the bright face of our companion, who reached through her veil and bathed us with her lustre. Both shores loomed black at almost equal distances away, and the lights in the casas of Yerba Buena were small, like meteors; the ships standing at anchor in the bay already looked like small boats rather than huge giants; the moonlight struck their limp sails . . . which whitened and glowed. . . ." ¹⁰⁸

During this trip Voznesensky visited San Antonio Rancho. Here is what he wrote in his journal: "I went to the rancho owned by San Antonio, 3 verstas [2 miles] from the spot where our longboat had landed. This estate's buildings are much better than those of San Pablo Rancho and its location is more picturesque, with two shady creeks—which flow from the opposite hills and enter a cove of the bay—lending great beauty to the surroundings; several casas dot an uneven site, and in the center is the proprietor's house, which in comparison with the others is quite good, being in excellent domestic order both outside and inside. . . ." ¹⁰⁹

In another journal booklet Voznesensky made entries about the history of San Francisco's development. In particular he wrote that "The house of Captain Vioget (as he called himself) cost 10,000 piasters (50,000 rubles). In this house he established a *hotel* with apartments and a billiard room; this is the first such hotel since the founding of Yerba Buena or the port of San Francisco." ¹¹⁰

In Voznesensky's journal there are entries concerning John Sutter, A. Richardson, and other figures; there is a sketch of the Sacramento River, drawings of Mount Diablo in "New Helvetia," etc. The journal also contains material on the Russian-American Company's close ties with Califor-

nia at that time. Thus, in November of 1840 during his sojourn at San Francisco Voznesensky recorded: "The governor of the Sitka office, Peter Stepanovich Kostromitinov, who arrived here on the sh[ip] *Nicholas* on company business, etcet[era], gave a *fandango* expressly for the officers this evening in the home of the captain of the port of San Francisco, Richardson."¹¹¹

Voznesensky's drawings, which are now kept in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, are also an important source for the history of California in the late 1830's and early 1840's. Gilzen, who was the first to compile a list of them and to point out their significance, observed that "... Voznesensky, wielding a pencil well, sketched the types of inhabitants of California and left us a whole series of interesting drawings."¹¹² Gilzen then listed the drawings: "General View of the Settlement of Ross," "New Albion Creole," "San Jago. New Albion Indian," "The Spaniard Don Garcia (in his national costume)," "View of Chernykh Rancho in Northern California," and others. All these drawings, which were published in 1951 by Blomkvist, have still not been used by specialists on the history of California.¹¹³

Initial study of the journals, travel notes, and letters of Russian travelers who visited California in the first half of the nineteenth century indicates that they are new and original sources for the history of this region. Searches for these materials should be continued in the archives and libraries of both the USSR and the USA. At the same time, it is necessary to immediately publish the materials that have already been found and to put them into scholarly circulation. Such work will then permit resolution of the question of the place of Russian documents among sources for the history of California in the first half of the 1800's.

NOTES

1. See A. V. Yefimov, *SShA. Puti razvitiya kapitalizma (doimperialisticheskaya epokha)* [*The U.S.A. Paths of Capitalist Development (Pre-imperialist Period)*] (Moscow, 1969), 679.

2. N. N. Bolkhovitinov, "Voina Latinskoy Ameriki za nezavisimost i pozitsiya Rossii" ["Latin America's War for Independence and Russia's Position"], *Voprosy istorii*, XXXIX (1965), 155.

3. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California (1542-1890)* (San Francisco, 1884-1890), I-VIII.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 34.

5. *Ibid.*, 36.

6. *Ibid.*, 38.

7. *Ibid.*, 42-43 and 52-53.

8. In 1874-1875 Bancroft's assistant Alphonse Pinart worked in the archives of St. Petersburg and Moscow and copied a whole series of documents. However, Bancroft

used only a few of these in his *History of California*. The materials collected by Pinart were largely unpublished and are now preserved in the Bancroft Library.

9. See, for example, P. Tikhmenev, *Istoricheskoye obozrenie obrazovaniya Rossiisko-Amerikanskoy kompanii i deistviy yeyo do nastoyashchevo vremeni* [*Historical Survey of the Formation and Operations of the Russian-American Company*] (St. Petersburg, 1861-1863), I-II.

10. V. Potekhin, "Selenie Ross" ["Ross Settlement"], *Zhurnal manufaktur i tor-govli*, VIII (1859), 1-42.

11. S. B. Okun, *Rossiisko-Amerikanskaya kompaniya* [*The Russian-American Company*] (Moscow and Leningrad, 1939) [translated by Carl Ginsburg and published by Harvard University Press for the American Council of Learned Societies in 1951].

12. N. N. Bolkhovitinov, *Stanovlenie russko-amerikanskikh otnosheny* [*The Formation of Russian-American Relations*] (Moscow, 1966).

13. S. G. Fyodorova, *Russkoye naselenie Alyaski i Kalifornii (konets XVIII veka-1867 g.)* [*The Russian Population of Alaska and California (late 1700's-1867)*] (Moscow, 1971).

14. See L. A. Shur, "Materialy russkikh puteshestvennikov XVIII-XIX vv. kak istochnik po geografii, istorii i etnografii stran Latinskoy Ameriki" ["The Materials of Russian Travelers of the 18th-19th Centuries as a Source for the Geography, History, and Ethnography of the Countries of Latin America"], *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, C (1968), 230-236 and R. H. Bartley and S. L. Wagner, *A Working Guide to the History of Latin America in European and American Depositories* (Stanford, 1966).

15. August C. Mahr, *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816* (Stanford, 1932).

16. *The Russians in California* (San Francisco, 1933).

17. Vassili P. Tarakanoff, *Statement of My Captivity Among the Californians* (Los Angeles, 1953).

18. Zakahar Tchitchinoff, *Adventures in California of Zakahar Tchitchinoff* (Los Angeles, 1956). The manuscript of Chechenev's notes is preserved in the Bancroft Library (see D. Morgan and G. Hammond, *A Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), 170-171).

19. Alexander Markoff, *The Russians on the Pacific Ocean* (Los Angeles, 1955).

20. K. T. Khlebnikov, "Memoirs of California," trans. Anatole G. Mazour, *Pacific Historical Review*, IX (1940), 307-336.

21. A. Rotchev, "Letters of A. Rotchev, Last Commandant at Fort Ross," trans. Frederick Cordes, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIX (1960), 96-115; A. Rotchev, "New Eldorado in California," trans. Alexander Doll and Richard Pierce, *Pacific Historian*, XIV (1970), 33-40.

22. E. L. Chernykh, "Agriculture of Upper California," *Pacific Historian*, XI (1967), 10-28 [also see James R. Gibson, "Two New Chernykh Letters," *Pacific Historian*, XII (1968), 48-56 and 55-60].

23. Yu. Davydov, *V moryakh i stranstviyakh* [*In Oceans and Travels*] (Moscow, 1956).

24. B. N. Komissarov, "Dnevnik puteshestviya F. P. Litke na shlyupe "Kamchatka" v 1817-1819 gg" ["The Journal of F. P. Lutke's Voyage on the Sloop "Kamchatka"]

in 1817-1819"], *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, XCVI (1964), 414-419.

25. V. M. Golovnin, *Puteshestvie vokrug sveta na voyennom sblyupe "Kamchatka" v 1817, 1818 i 1819 godakh* [*Voyage Around the World on the Naval Sloop "Kamchatka" in 1817, 1818, and 1819*] (Moscow, 1965).

26. Tsentralny gosudarstvennyy arkhiv voyenno-morskogo flota [Central State Archive of the Military-Naval Fleet—hereafter TsGAVMF], f. 15, op. 1, d. 8, l. 202 rev.

27. *Ibid.*, l., 203 rev.

28. *Ibid.*, ll., 203 rev.-204.

29. Rukopisnyy otdel Instituta russkoy literatury AN SSSR (Pushkinsky dom) [Manuscript Division of the Institute of Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Pushkin House)], f. 93, op. 2, d. 161, ll. 105-105 rev. and 107-110 rev.

30. See A. I. Solovyov's foreword in A. P. Lazarev, *Zapiski o plavanii voyennogo sblyupa "Blagonamerennogo" v Beringov proliv i vokrug sveta . . .* [*Notes of the Voyage of the Naval Sloop "Loyal" to Bering Strait and Around the World . . .*] (Moscow, 1950), 5-6.

31. D. D. Tumarkin, "Novie arkhivnye materialy o gavaitsakh" ["New Archival Materials about the Hawaiians"], *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, XXXIV (1960), 158-160.

32. D. D. Tumarkin, *Vtorozhenie kolonizatorov v "kray vechnoy vesny"* [*The Invasion of the "Land of Eternal Spring" by Colonizers*] (Moscow, 1964).

33. See V. V. Kuznetsova, "Novie dokumenty o russkoy ekspeditsii k Severnomu polyusu" ["New Documents about a Russian Expedition to the North Pole"], *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, C (1968), 237-245.

34. TsGAVMF, f. 213, op. 1, d. 107, ll. 4 rev.-5.

35. *Ibid.*, l. 6 rev.

36. *Ibid.*, d. 105, l. 3.

37. *Ibid.*, d. 107, l. 17 rev.

38. *Ibid.*, ll. 18-18 rev.

39. *Ibid.*, f. 203, op. 1, d. 730b, ll. 80-97.

40. Lazarev, *Zapiski*, 242-247.

41. G. S. Shishmarev participated in the round-the-world voyage of the "Rurik" under the command of O. Ye. Kotzebue (1815-1818) and in 1816 visited San Francisco.

42. Otdel rukopisey Gosudarstvennoy publichnoy biblioteki im. M. Ye. Saltykova-Shchedrina [Manuscript Division of the M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library], Viskovaty papers, F.XVII, 106T¹, l. 257.

43. See Shur, "Materialy," 233.

44. Otdel rukopisey Gosudarstvennoy biblioteki SSSR im. V. I. Lenina [Manuscript Division of the V. I. Lenin State Library], f. 449, c. 2, d. 18.

45. Ye. I. Golubtsova and Ye. N. Oshanina, "Kollektsiya Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey Rossiiskikh (OIDR)" ["The Collection of the Moscow Society of Russian History and Antiquities (OIDR)"], *Zapiski Otdela rukopisey Gosudarstvennoy biblioteki im. V. I. Lenina*, (1952), 25-29.

46. See M. B. Chernenko, "Lavrenty Alekseyevich Zagoskin" in *Puteshestviya i issledovaniya leitenanta Lavrentiya Zagoskina v Russkoy Amerike v 1842-1844 gg.*

[*Travels and Explorations of Lieutenant Lavrenty Zagoskin in Russian America in 1842-1844*] (Moscow, 1956) [English version edited by Henry Michael and published for the Arctic Institute of North America by the University of Toronto Press in 1967], 8.

47. Bolkhovitinov, *Stanovlenie*.

48. See S. N. Markov, *Letopis Alyaski* [*Chronicle of Alaska*] (Moscow, 1948); N. A. Chernitsyn, "Issledovatel Alyaski i Severnoy Kalifornii Ivan Kuskov" ["Ivan Kuskov, Explorer of Alaska and Northern California"], *Letopis Severa*, III (1962), 108-121.

49. H. H. Bancroft, *California Pioneer Register and Index, 1542-1848* (Baltimore, 1964), 208.

50. Khlebnikov's journal, which was found by P. G. Lyapunova, is preserved in F. P. Wrangel's archive in the Central State Historical Archive of the Estonian SSR (TsGIA ESSR) in Tartu.

51. TsGIA ESSR (Tartu), f. 2,057, op. 1, d. 381, l. 13.

52. *Ibid.*, l. 13 rev.

53. *Ibid.*, l. 14.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Adolph K. Etolin was commander of the sloop *Baikal*, and from 1840 to 1845 he was governor of Russian America.

56. TsGIA ESSR (Tartu), f. 2,057, op. 1, d. 381, l. 14 rev.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, l. 15.

59. *Ibid.*, ll. 15-15 rev.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*, l. 15 rev.

62. *Ibid.*, l. 16.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, l. 16-16 rev.

65. *Ibid.*, l. 16 rev.

66. *Ibid.*, l. 21.

67. "Zapiski o Kalifornii, sostavlenne K. Khlebnikovym" ["Notes on California Compiled by K. Khlebnikov"], *Syn otechestva*, II-III (1829) [also see James R. Gibson, "Russian America in 1833: The Survey of Kirill Khlebnikov," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, LXIII (1972), 1-13].

68. Khlebnikov's archive was first briefly described and utilized by B. N. Vishnevsky (see B. N. Vishnevsky, "Materialy arkhiva K. T. Khlebnikova, predstavlyayushchie interes dlya istorii geografii" ["Materials in K. T. Khlebnikov's Archive of Interest for the History of Geography"], *Izvestiya Akademii nauk SSSR: seriya geograficheskaya*, III (1953), 87-88; *idem.*, *Puteshestvennik Kirill Khlebnikov* [*The Traveler Kirill Khlebnikov*] (Perm, 1957); *idem.*, "Puteshestvennik Kirill Khlebnikov i yevo nauchnoye nasledie" ["The Traveler Kirill Khlebnikov and His Scientific Legacy"] in *Na Zapadnom Urale* (Perm, 1956), 192-194.

69. Gosudarstvennyy arkhiv Permskoy oblasti [State Archive of Perm Oblast], f. 445, op. 1, d. 33, ll. 137-137 rev.

70. *Ibid.*, d. 21, l. 46

71. *Ibid.*, ll. 46-46 rev.
72. *Ibid.*, d. 23, l. 7.
73. *Ibid.*, d. 22, l. 50 rev.
74. *Ibid.*, d. 8, ll. 9-14 and 27.
75. A. I. Andreyev, "Arkhiv Vrangelya" ["Wrangel's Archive"], *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, LXXV (1943), 36-37.
76. Yu. Davydov, *Ferdinand Wrangel [Ferdinand Wrangel]* (Moscow, 1959).
77. See L. A. Shur, "Meksika 30-kh godov XIX v. v neopublikovannom dnevnike F. P. Vrangelya" ["Mexico in the 1830's in F. P. Wrangel's Unpublished Journal"], *Novaya i noveishaya istoriya*, XII (1969), 152-165.
78. For more details, see Okun, *Rossiisko-Amerikanskaya kompaniya*, 137-140.
79. I have published these excerpts from Wrangel's journal in *Novaya i noveishaya istoriya*, XII (1969), 159-163.
80. TsGIA ESSR (Tartu), f. 2,057, op. 1, d. 353, l. 3.
81. *Ibid.*, l. 3 rev.
82. *Ibid.*, ll. 4-4 rev.
83. See L. A. Shur, "Istochniki po geografii, istorii i etnografii stran Latinskoy Ameriki XVII-XIX vekov v arkhivakh i bibliotekakh Pribaltiki" ["Sources for the Geography, History, and Ethnography of the Countries of Latin America of the 17th-19th Centuries in the Archives and Libraries of the Prebaltic"] in *Nauchnye svyazi Pribaltiki v XVIII-XX vekakh* (Riga, 1968), 155-156 [also see James R. Gibson, "Russia in California, 1833: Report of Governor Wrangel," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, LX (1969), 205-215].
84. I use this opportunity to thank Mr. R. Bartley for sending me a microfilm of this manuscript [translated and edited by James R. Gibson, "A Russian Orthodox Priest in a Mexican Catholic Parish," *Pacific Historian*, XV (1971), 57-66].
85. F. O. Essig, "The Russian Settlement at Ross" in *The Russians in California*, 8-9.
86. Innokentii, "Putevoi Zhurnal" ["Travel Journal"], MS, Bancroft Library, P-K 220.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*
89. Morgan and Hammond, *Guide*, 170-171 and 181.
90. See M. V. Stepanova, "Iz istorii etnograficheskogo izucheniya byvshikh russkikh vladeny v Amerike" ["From the History of the Ethnographical Study of the Former Russian Possessions in America"], *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, XXI (1947), 141.
91. R. A. Thompson, *The Russian Settlement in California Known as Fort Ross* (Santa Rosa, 1896), 34.
92. See, for example, *The Russians in California*, 9-10 and 21.
93. Leningradskoye otdelenie Arkhiva Akademii nauk SSSR [Leningrad Branch of the Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR—hereafter LO AAN], f. 46, op. 1, d. 2 (rough copy) and d. 3 (finished copy, typewritten).
94. *Ibid.*, d. 3.
95. K. K. Gilzen, "Ilya Gavrilovich Voznesensky," *Sbornik Muzeya antropologii i etnografii*, III (1916).
96. *Trudy Arkhiva Akademii nauk SSSR*, I (1933), 95.

97. V. F. Gnucheva, *Materialy dlya istorii ekspeditsy Akademii nauk v XVIII i XIX vekakh* [Materials for the History of the Expeditions of the Academy of Sciences in the 18th and 19th Centuries] (Moscow and Leningrad, 1940), 194-196.

98. See M. V. Stepanova, "I. G. Voznesensky i etnograficheskoye izuchenie severo-zapada Ameriki" ["I. G. Voznesensky and Ethnographical Study of America's Northwest"], *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, LXXVI (1944), 277-279; B. A. Lipshits, "Etnograficheskie materialy po severo-zapadnoy Amerike v arkhive I. G. Voznesenskovo" ["Ethnographical Materials on Northwestern America in I. G. Voznesensky's Archive"], *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, LXXXII (1950), 415-420; Ye. E. Blomkvist, "Risunki I. G. Voznesenskovo (Ekspeditsiya 1839-1849 gg.)" ["I. G. Voznesensky's Drawings (The Expedition of 1839-1849)"], *Sbornik Muzeia antropologii i etnografii AN SSSR*, XIII (1951); R. G. Lyapunova, "Ekspeditsiya I. G. Voznesenskovo i yeyo znachenie dlya etnografii Russkoy Ameriki" ["I. G. Voznesensky's Expedition and Its Significance to the Ethnography of Russian America"] in *Kultura i byt narodov Ameriki* (Leningrad, 1967).

99. See the above works by Blomkvist and Lyapunova.

100. *Kultura i byt narodov Ameriki* [Culture and Life of the Peoples of America] (Leningrad, 1967).

101. I. G. Voznesensky, "Otchyot akademiku F. F. Brandtu o puteshestvii" ["Report to Academician F. F. Brandt on My Trip"], LO AAN, f. 2, op. 1839, d. 9, ll. 89-93 rev. Voznesensky's "Report" has been extensively used in the aforementioned works of Gilzen and Lyapunova; unfortunately, Lyapunova, who has published part of Voznesensky's "Report," makes a number of errors and inaccuracies with respect to his trip to northern California because she used not the original "Report" but Gilzen's copy (LO AAN, f. 46, op. 1, d. 3, ll. 166ff.).

102. LO AAN, f. 2, op. 1839, ll. 91 rev.-92; Lyapunova, "Ekspeditsiya," 14.

103. LO AAN, f. 51, op. 2, d. 8, ll. 34-35 and f. 46, op. 1, d. 3, ll. 125-128 and 193-194.

104. *Ibid.*, f. 2, op. 1839, d. 9, l. 61 rev.

105. *Ibid.*, f. 46, op. 1, d. 3, ll. 15-16.

106. *Ibid.*, d. 2, l. 25.

107. Bancroft, *Register and Index*, 292.

108. LO AAN, f. 53, op. 1, d. 1/1, ll. 9 rev.-10.

109. *Ibid.*, l. 11 rev.

110. *Ibid.*, d. 1/2, l. 10.

111. *Ibid.*, d. 1/3, l. 17 rev.

112. *Ibid.*, f. 46, op. 1, d. 2, l. 28.

113. See Blomkvist, "Risunki." The necessity of further study of Voznesensky's unpublished materials is pointed out in a report by A. I. Alekseyev (see A. I. Alekseyev, "Puteshestviya I. G. Voznesenskovo po Dalnemu Vostoku i Russkoy Amerike v 1839-1849 godakh" ["I. G. Voznesensky's Travels through the Far East and Russian America in 1839-1849"], *Istoriya geograficheskikh znaniy i istoricheskaya geografiya*, 4 (1970), 36-39

Richard Reinhardt

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introduction to this article.*

On the Brink of the Boom: Southern California in 1877 As Witnessed by Mrs. Frank Leslie

NINETY-FIVE YEARS AGO, *American tourists regarded Southern California as an exotic and inaccessible corner of the western wilderness. Although the transcontinental railroad had been running for almost a decade, the extension southward from San Francisco to Los Angeles had been open for only one year. The population of California south of the Tehachapi Mountains was barely 60,000.*

In midsummer 1887, Frank Leslie, who was then the country's most enterprising magazine publisher, ventured into this mysterious territory with his wife, Miriam Follin Leslie, half a dozen friends and employees, a Skye terrier, and an abundant supply of canned oysters, soda crackers, and vintage champagne. Los Angeles was to be one of the final stops on the Leslie's extravagant, cross-country railway excursion, which had provided material for a book by Mrs. Leslie and dozens of articles in Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. The travelers found the tempo of life in rural Los Angeles a relaxing contrast to the excitements of Omaha, Cheyenne, Virginia City, and other rip-snorting towns along the way; but the future metropolis of the southwest was approaching the end of its days as a bucolic Spanish pueblo. Within a few years, all of Southern California would explode in a major real estate boom—the beginning of a new era for the quiet agricultural settlements of the San Gabriel Valley and the Los Angeles coastal plain.

The following description of Southern California by Mrs. Leslie originally appeared in her book, California: A Pleasure Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate (New York, 1877). Other episodes in the transcontinental journey ran in Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper over a period of several months. They have been edited with a modern commentary by Richard Reinhardt and published as Out West on the Overland Train (Palo Alto, 1967).

THE GATEWAY to Southern California is the famous Tehachapi Loop, where the railway circles around and crosses over itself by tunnel—the only way of getting over the tremendous grade. Here, the country changes to a dry, desolate plain, dotted over with gray-green sagebrush and needle palms with twisted branches and shut in by hills as bare and brown as itself. It was a relief to get out for a few moments at Robber's

Roost, a spot beyond Mojave, named for the bandit Tiburcio Vásquez, who had his principal stronghold here. Between this place and Santa Barbara, Vásquez was captured several years ago, and later he was hanged at San Jose.

The rest of the way to Los Angeles is through the same monotonous and arid plain, among broken hills dotted with cactus and needle palms—hot, smoking and tropical. We had made an appointment to meet Mr. E. J. Baldwin and visit his ranch; but as he was not at the station on our arrival, we left our belongings in the car and sallied forth to view the town.

It was quite different from any we had seen, having a distinctly Spanish and semi-tropical air that made us feel we were almost in a foreign land. Most of the shops were open to the street, and in the fruiterers' stalls hung great bunches and branches of oranges with the leaves on, as if just plucked. Lemons, bananas, grapes, peaches and apricots also were offered in abundance. One felt that he was promenading the halls of an agricultural fair. It is hard to believe that just such fruits may be plucked at Los Angeles every day in the year. No doubt if poor Ponce de Leon had only come hither instead of going to sultry, boggy Florida, he would have found the Fountain of Perpetual Youth flowing into the San Gabriel River!

The salubrity, the charm and the equability of the climate are marvelous. A woman need not pass four anxious weeks in every year considering her spring, summer, autumn and winter clothes, since the thermometer never varies more than forty degrees through the year. Major Ben C. Truman¹ says he never changed his bed coverings from January to December.

The city itself, El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles, to give its full name, is "of a certain age," that is, an age difficult to determine. It originated in 1781, when Felipe de Neve, then Spanish governor of California, issued from his quarters at the Mission of San Gabriel, nine miles distant, an order² of a settlement bearing the name popularly contracted in California to "Angeles." The town thus founded consisted of twelve invalided soldiers, their families, and the horses, oxen, sheep, goats, asses and hoes provided for them by a paternal government.

The village vegetated mildly for fifty years or so, and in 1836, after the dear old Padres had been disturbed from their picturesque prosperity, Los

1. Major Ben C. Truman, a publicist for the Southern Pacific Railroad, wrote countless articles, poems, brochures, and guidebooks in praise of the scenery and climate of California. Among his books are *Homes and Happiness in the Golden State of California* (1883) and *The Tourist's Illustrated Guide to the Celebrated Summer and Winter Resorts of California* (1884). In the early 1870's Truman was publisher of the *Los Angeles Star*, one of the two "major" papers in the town.

2. Governor Neve's order, issued on August 26, 1781, specified the size of building lots, farm plots, the method to be followed in distributing land to settlers, and the town plan for laying out the streets and plazas of the pueblo. The original settlers and their families—forty-six persons in all—were Indians, Negroes, mulattos, and a few Spaniards.

Angeles was made into a "city," so called, and became for a time the capital of Alta California. Still it consisted of only one crooked street of adobe houses, with a church, an alcalde's office, and no disagreeable novelty to show that the Nineteenth Century had gotten hold of it.

The discovery of gold brought this garden into notice. Capitalists, laborers and speculators came, saw, and settled. The street of adobe houses was relegated to the condition of a suburb, and an American city was added to it, as San Francisco was added to the Mission Dolores.

Churches, school houses, banks, factories, hotels and newspaper offices have sprung up. English is spoken generally, and railways connect the city with every point that anyone could wish to visit—and some, like Fort Yuma, that no one wishes to visit. Los Angeles has, in ten years, become a "live" American city and might, in one sense, date its age at no more than one decade. At any rate, like other creatures of an uncertain age, Los Angeles is more charming on acquaintance than at first sight. Residents become sincerely attached to the quaint, mild tempered, uneventful little city, with its lingering flavor of Spanish and monastic domination, its fruit and flowers, its sweet and fragrant atmosphere.

We found ourselves well pleased as we strolled up the wide street beneath the awnings and looked in at the open stalls. In one stood rows of great red jars for water coolers, reminding one of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves; in another, gay stuffs for dresses, mantles and scarves, such as these half-tropical women love to wear.

Now and then we met a Mexican woman, head muffled in her shawl, or a Chinese—cool, sleek and comfortable. Near the Pico House we passed a Spanish hostelry with a shadowy green courtyard in front, a piano playing indoors and a brown señora with some pretty children strolling under the trees. We stopped to dine at a French cafe called the Commercial Restaurant, built around two courts, upon the larger of which the dining room opened. Sitting at table, we looked out upon the wide, sunshiny extent, with a gallery running around it, and some orange trees in odorous bloom. Opposite our windows were those of the kitchen, with the white-capped chef giving his orders within and a group of Chinese and French servants obeying them.

Our further explorations began with a photographer's salon, in one corner of which was a dentist's office, curtained off. We were curious to discover whether the period just before or just after the dental operations is considered most favorable for a picture; but neither dentist nor photographer came to enlighten us.

Later, we found ourselves in a square of little one-story buildings, with

OPPOSITE: Victorian journalist Miriam Follin Leslie traveled overland to California in a private car with a coterie which included her husband and faithful Skye terrier. *Wells Fargo Bank History Room.*



many blue-clad, cork-soled, umbrella-hatted, cunning-eyed figures standing or squatting around, and one oddly coiffed woman stooping to relight a joss stick at her door. There were a few shops, small and dirty, but in Los Angeles one's taste becomes too distinctly Spanish to care for other flavors. We soon left this "Chinatown" and drove back to the older part of the city to gaze admiringly at the long, low, white walls and flat, tiled roofs of the adobe houses, the picturesque figures of their inmates and the glowing sunlight that shines only in Spanish countries.

Returning to the station, we found Mr. Baldwin, the kind San Francisco friend who had volunteered to show us his ranch and orange groves, waiting there with a six-in-hand carriage and a buggy. We started for Baldwin's Rancho Santa Anita³ just as the great white moon rose above the hills, and soon we were out on an open plain, flying over hard, dry sod that rang like iron beneath the horses' hooves. The air was warm and balmy, the moonlight brilliant, the rapid motion exhilarating, and the whole drive delightful, except perhaps for the moment when the leaders of the six horse team suddenly gave a plunge, snapped the harness connecting them with the rest and galloped away into the distance. (The horses were found next day, one with a broken leg that could be cured only with a rifle ball, the other safe in the barn of a neighboring ranch where he had taken refuge.)

Despite this mishap, the twelve miles' drive was speedily accomplished. Suddenly rounding the corner of a great, unfenced field of barley, we drove through Mr. Baldwin's orange orchard, whose merits were to be judged by olfactory evidence, and arrived at the old Spanish ranch house, a long, low building, surrounded by a wide piazza, and completely buried in evergreens, tree-ferns and climbing vines. A great Chinese lantern hung in the piazza, and a demure little housekeeper stood ready to welcome us and take us to our rooms—charming rooms, large and cool, with deep window seats in the two-foot thickness of the walls.

3. The vast and beautiful Rancho Santa Anita, extending from the marshy lowlands of El Monte to the foot of the Sierra Madre range, now subsumes the towns of Arcadia, Santa Anita, Sierra Madre, and part of Monrovia. The original holding of three leagues was granted by the Mexican government of Alta California to Hugo Reid, a pioneer Scottish settler, in 1841. Reid sold the entire rancho (more than 13,000 acres) to Henry Dalton in 1847 for \$2700. After having passed through the hands of several owners who reduced the total acreage to around 8000, Santa Anita passed to Harris Newmark, a Los Angeles banker, in 1874. Newmark paid \$85,000 and resold a few months later for \$200,000. The purchaser was E. J. "Lucky" Baldwin of San Francisco, whose stewardship of the property outclassed that of his predecessors by every material standard. Baldwin spent more than \$100,000 on orchard and shade trees, irrigation, roads, stables, and thoroughbred race horses, added 52,000 adjoining acres, and developed the ranch at its peak to a value of \$10 million. In the early 1880's, Baldwin began the first of a long series of subdivisions that changed the property to an urban residential area. As for the name of the rancho, there is no saint named Anita. The name is a Spanish diminutive for Anne—or, in Spanish, Ana.

Directly after breakfast the next morning, we went forth to see the plantation. Passing through a garden just behind the house, then by a pretty little lake, we crossed a wide open space, with prickly pears and mock orange vines all around and tarantula holes under foot. The wonderfully beautiful San Gabriel Mountains rose in purple cones beyond the arid brown plain, shimmering in the tropical sunshine. We were glad to get inside the cool, shady wine houses, where great tons of sherry, claret and angelica were tapped and offered for our inspection.

Coming out we found a carriage waiting to drive us to the stables. The road lay through hilly fields hedged with willow and pepper trees and past some Mexican huts, constructed wholly of thatch, with sailcloth tents adjoining. Half-naked children frisked in and out of these burrows, and hordes of dogs rushed yelping after us. The men work upon the estate and the women do nothing, unless taking care of hordes of babies may be considered employment. A little cluster of huts farther on was devoted to Chinese laborers, of whom Mr. Baldwin highly approves.

Through nearly every window of the enormous stables, a horse's head protruded in the most sociable manner. We were introduced to Grimstead, who was at the Saratoga races last year, and to several unnamed beauties with graceful heads, delicate limbs and coats shining like satin. In the very center of the stables is the head groom's sittingroom, hung round with pictures of famous horses, principally racers, diversified with a few famous women, principally actresses. Gray rugs and horse clothing lay neatly folded on shelves. Altogether, the place looked quite a paradise for a person of equine propensities.

Leaving the stables, we recrossed the dry plains, startling many little ground squirrels that scurried to their burrows and disappeared at our approach. Mock orange vines with their globes spaced wide apart were the only green things to be seen until we turned into the grounds of Mr. Leonard J. Rose's famous Sunny Slope Ranch, 1200 acres in extent⁴. There we found

4. Second in fame only to Baldwin's Santa Anita, the 1960-acre Sunnyslope Ranch was a showplace of Southern California during the 1870's and 1880's. With acres of vineyards and orange groves, scores of superb horses, and more than 150 employees—Chinese, Mexicans, and Yankees—Sunnyslope represented to visitors from the East a sort of Mittel-European feudalism transplanted into the semi-tropical San Gabriel Valley. The owner, Leonard J. Rose, was an immigrant from Bavaria who had settled first in the Middle West, married an Iowa girl (Amanda Markel Jones, of Keosauqua), and made the overland trek to California in 1858. In 1860, Rose began buying land (\$1 an acre and up) in the gently rolling foothills two miles north of the Mission San Gabriel. Beginning with sixty acres of Mission grapes, he enlarged his vineyards until Sunnyslope had thirty-five varieties of grapes and produced 750,000 gallons of wine and 125,000 gallons of brandy a year. Rose's distilled spirits—pure white and 180 proof—were cut with water, colored with burnt sugar, and sold all over the United States as "Rose's Sunny Slope Brandy."

ourselves in a grove of orange trees that extended to an infinite distance in every direction. The trees were tall and sturdy, laden with heavy golden fruit and blossoms that filled the air with the perfume of a thousand weddings. The trees are planted in regular lines, each in a shallow basin of earth, which at certain intervals is filled with water. Farther on was a grove of lemons, the trees not so pretty as the oranges but laden with perfectly enormous fruit; then rows of fig trees, clumps of olive and, here and there, banana trees, although this fruit is not so much at home here as the fig, orange, olive and lemon.

From here we visited the Mill Ranch, owned by Col. E. J. C. Kewen,⁵ who came to this part of the country more than fifteen years ago and founded his future homesite on the remains of an old stone building built a hun-

When the Los Angeles & San Gabriel Valley Railroad was projected in 1886, Rose cut off a section of the ranch adjoining the line, named it Lamanda Park (a blend of his wife's name and his own,) and sold it as a residential suburb of Pasadena.

Still, the sale of the remainder of Sunnyslope to an English syndicate for more than \$1 million the following year surprised Rose and seemed to his patrician neighbors a disaster. Rose built a luxurious home at the corner of Fourth Street and Grand Avenue in Los Angeles and developed a new ranch, the 500-acre Rosemead, near El Monte.

Under the inexperienced management and absentee direction of the English syndicate, Sunnyslope ran into a huge deficit within five years. The land was broken up among the stockholders and eventually was subdivided into a fine residential area.

In May, 1899, Leonard Rose, deeply in debt, committed suicide.

5. E. J. C. Kewen, informally known as "Alphabet" Kewen, was a poet, orator, legislator, lawyer, Confederate patriot, Central American filibuster, and first attorney general of the State of California. Born in Mississippi in 1825, he was an almost exaggerated specimen of the aristocratic, hot-tempered gentleman popularly associated with the chivalrous traditions of the Old South. After serving as an officer in the Mexican War, Kewen practiced law in St. Louis, then followed the gold rush overland to California, where he married the eldest daughter of Dr. T. J. White, the leader of Kewen's immigrant party. Settling in San Francisco in 1852, Kewen plunged into politics, was elected attorney general, turned out the first book of verse published in California (*Idealima*, 1853), and delivered himself of innumerable florid speeches that were regarded as classics of refined rhetoric. While thus engaged, Kewen also filled in as financial agent for William Walker's abortive filibustering expedition to Nicaragua, later joining the campaign himself to avenge the death of his brother, one of Walker's officers. Moving to Southern California in 1858, Kewen bought the ruins of the old San Gabriel mill, "El Molino Viejo," and 450 acres of the surrounding Rancho San Pasqual, in 1861. The mill had been constructed under the supervision of Padre José María Zalvidea around 1810-1812. It was the first water-operated grist-mill in California and as such was, and is, a notable landmark. As Kewen's home, El Molino also became a social center for the San Gabriel Valley and a bastion of pro-Southern sentiment during the Civil War. (Kewen did not mask his feelings. In 1862, while an assemblyman from Los Angeles county, he was arrested and briefly imprisoned at the U.S. military barracks on Alcatraz Island because of his polemical attacks on the Union.)

dred and one years before by the Franciscan monks of the Mission San Gabriel as a grist mill and granary. Only the walls then remained, but they were five feet thick and flanked at each corner by heavy buttresses. Col. Kewen restored, improved and added to this ruin, and it stands today, one of the loveliest homes in California. No walls or fences limit the view. The eye roams over masses of heliotrope six feet high, roses of every shade, banks of honeysuckle, lilies, azaleas, passion flowers and pomegranates, cactii and aloes, and grand old willows, sweeping the ground with their slender fingertips.

But, with all the beauty of its surroundings, El Rancho del Molino is repellant to the Spaniards. It is haunted, they will tell you, by the spirit of the mill, a legacy bequeathed by the padres, who may have walled up some recreant nun or heretical priest in one of the great corner buttresses.

Col. Kewen and his family manage to exist here very pleasantly, however. The ghost does not trouble them half as much as the smouldering enmity of the native Spanish population, who regard the Anglo-Saxons as interlopers.

Not far from Mill Ranch is the home of one of these stalwart Spaniards: Mrs. Eulalia Pérez, the oldest woman in the world.⁶ Her house is a quaint old brown adobe structure with a sloping roof and two or three wine vats built against the walls. On the piazza, we were met by a pretty Spanish girl, who showed us into a sittingroom and informed us that she was Señora Eulalia's great-great-granddaughter. Her own grandmother, the señora's young-

Kewen died at El Molino Viejo in 1879. In 1903, Henry E. Huntington bought the mill and restored it to its original proportions. Since then, it has served as a real estate office and as a private residence. It is now Southern California headquarters of the California Historical Society. The building is located at 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, not far from the Huntington-Sheraton Hotel.

6. Mrs. Pérez, if not the oldest woman in the world, was certainly over 100 years of age. Her longevity probably accounts for the demonstrable inaccuracy of some of her statements. In 1877, the year of the Leslies' visit to San Gabriel, Mrs. Pérez dictated thirty pages of reminiscences (*Una Vieja y sus Recuerdos*) to a research assistant of Hubert H. Bancroft, the San Francisco historian-publisher, and Bancroft credited the old woman's veracity by using this memoir as the basis of an unflattering portrayal of one of the early priests at San Gabriel Mission. Bancroft had lingering suspicions, however, about Mrs. Pérez's true age. He was able to establish that she had been born in Loreto, Baja California, Mexico, and had immigrated to San Diego with her first husband, Antonio Guillen, a soldier, in about 1800. She was not more than thirty at that time, according to Bancroft's deductions, and that would have made her a mere 108 or 110 at the time of her death in 1878.

In any case, Doña Eulalia was widely and favorably known around San Gabriel as a nurse, midwife, and raconteuse. Through her second husband, Juan Marine, (they were married in 1832, when Juan was over 60 and Eulalia, by her own calculations, was close to 90) she was a claimant to the Rancho San Pasqual, which is now the site of Pasadena. According to Doña Eulalia, the priests at San Gabriel Mission had given her San Pasqual, a three-and-a-half league parcel of church lands, because they were



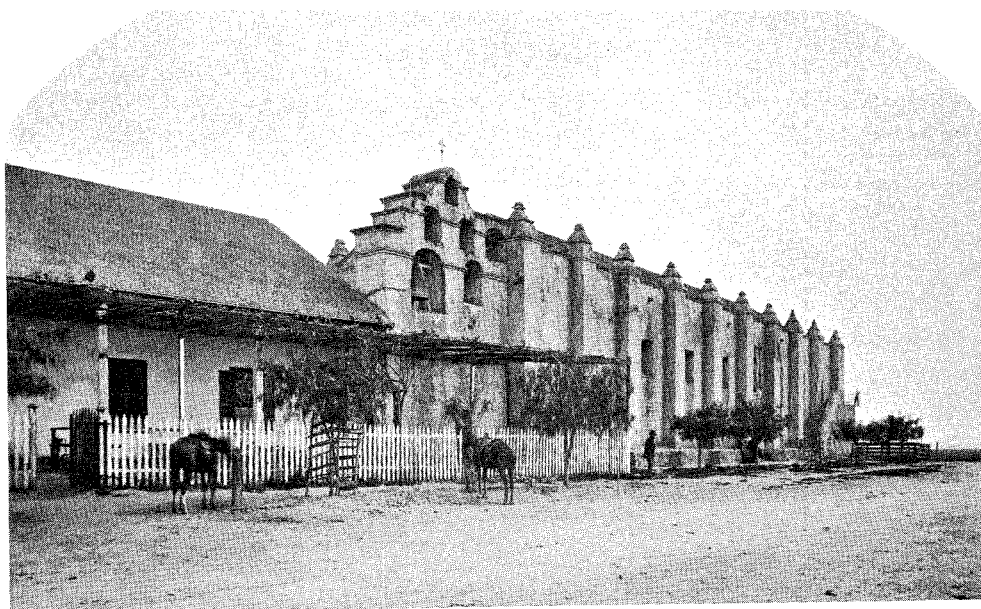
Pueblo Los Angeles grew up around the plaza and its church (center), completed in early 1820's. By 1869 when this photograph was taken, rancheros' town houses lined the other sides of the square. *Natural History Museum, Los Angeles*

Señora Eulalia Pérez, reputedly the oldest woman in the world, was well known in San Gabriel as a midwife and raconteuse. *California Historical Society.*

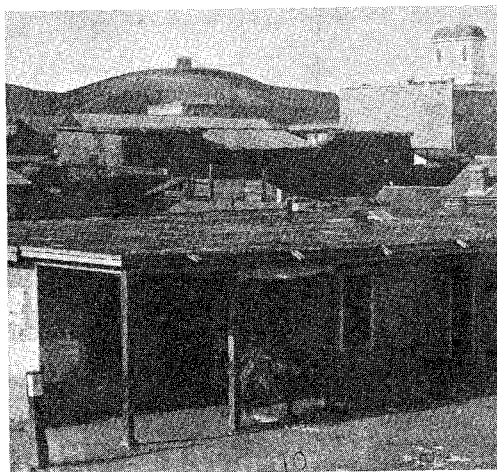


In the 1870's California-made cigars were packed in boxes lavishly decorated with rural scenes, such as this vision of lush maidens plucking oranges from precarious perches. *California State Archives.*



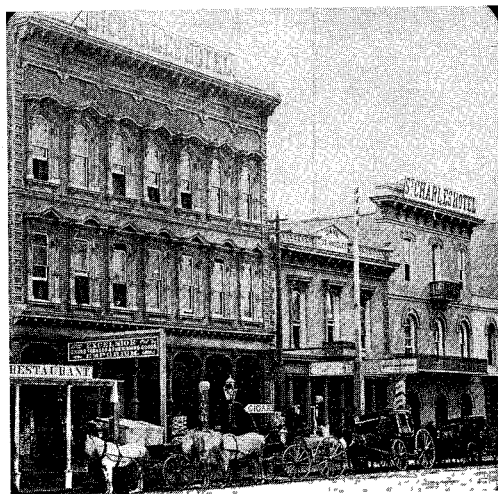


Already crumbling at the time of Mrs. Leslie's visit, Mission San Gabriel (1771), the fourth Spanish mission in Alta California, was still serving as a parish church. *California Historical Society.*



"More charming on acquaintance than at first sight," observed the circumspect Mrs. Leslie of the sleepy Mexican town. *California Historical Society.*

By 1880, Los Angeles was already beginning to bustle with Yankee businessmen and land speculators, who, seemingly overnight, erected banks and hotels to facilitate their financial dreams. *Natural History Museum, Los Angeles*



est grandchild, is sixty-five years old. Señora Eulalia herself is about 140—"but old as she is," the girl told us, with obvious pride in her own proficiency, "she cannot speak a word of English."

Presently she went out and returned with a short, shrunken figure, dressed in a dark calico shirt and sacque, gray shawl and gay carpet slippers, her head covered by a close-fitting black merino hood with a white kerchief inside. Her skin was seamed with a million fine wrinkles, and her eyes seemed to have disappeared altogether, leaving only two narrow loopholes, red as fire; but she presently gave proof that the power of discriminating sight remained. After having talked with me for some time, she asked if I were married and, if so, to which of the gentlemen present. I pointed out by husband, who stood at the farther end of the room.

"Well, I should not think you need have married a man with white hair," said Señora Pérez. And she added some comments upon my appearance, which showed that her sight was perfect, whatever may be thought of her taste and judgment.

The señora had been married twice. In her youth she had many lovers but could not decide which of them to marry until the padre insisted that she make a choice. Left a widow, she again made a selection, based on maturer judgment, and was even happier in her second nuptials than in her first.

When asked her age, she counted on her fingers ten, twenty, thirty, and so on, up to 140. It is on record that when the church of the Mission San Gabriel was built in 1771 she was a married women with three children. Three daughters and two sons are still alive, and grandchildren up to eighty years old. Señora Eulalia lives with each of them alternately and goes to church every Sunday.

Last year [1876] it was proposed to take her to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and she actually went as far as the cars; but some of her relatives, to whom she is a source of revenue, interfered and brought her home again. Perhaps it is just as well. The fatigue and excitement would, no doubt, have been a risk.

She appeared really sorry to have us go, and she followed us clear out to the carriage. Pressing my hand in a firm, almost virile manner, she uttered in sweet, pure Spanish the blessing which comes with such authority from aged lips, and we parted with mutual regret.

As a suitable pendant to this visit, we drove to the old mission of San

concerned about her welfare in the event that the government should secularize the missions. She, in turn, had swapped the rancho for Juan Marine's house and grounds at San Gabriel.

A number of details in Doña Eulalia's story do not gibe with known facts about the mission and its lands, but it is true that Juan Marine once owned Rancho San Pasqual. He got the grant from Governor Figueroa in 1835.

Gabriel⁷ where Eulalia Pérez was born and doubtless will be buried. The church stands in a purely Spanish settlement of adobe houses, some roofed with thatch and some with fluted red tiles bound together with rawhide thongs. Everything is old and falling to decay except the chocolate colored children, the dirtiest, prettiest creatures imaginable, who swarm in and out of the uneven doorways.

The church itself is old and crumbling, with a sunburned, weary look about it, as if the downfall of the padres had disheartened and demoralized it. On the outside wall, high out of reach, are the empty niches of forgotten saints, and in a queer, gable-like belfry hang the old bells, cast in Spain more than a century ago for a church in the City of Mexico.⁸ The bells contain no small quantity of silver and gold, cast into the cauldron of molten metal by men, women and children whose piety had been wrought up by the preaching of the missionaries. The bells were brought to San Gabriel on the backs of mules and oxen, the cost of transportation being one cowhide for each pound of metal.

The interior of the church was dusky and venerable, but poor—the windows high up, small and dusty, the roof unornamental and the floor uneven. A few bare pews (a modern innovation) and some *prie-dieux* afforded accommodation for such worshippers as objected to the floor.

On the pillars near the door hung tin placards, whose rudely lettered inscription, in English, gave an embarrassing hint of the conduct of our countrymen: "Take off your hats," and "Behave yourself."

With this admonition in mind, we went out to visit the old orchards, which are still well stocked with the fruits and vines that the Spanish fathers brought to such perfection. As we passed through a gap in the adobe wall, a

7. *Mission San Gabriel*, founded by the Franciscans on September 8, 1771, was the fourth Spanish mission in Alta California and one of the most materially successful. The original structure was located on a bluff overlooking the Rio Hondo, then called Rio San Gabriel, about half a mile north of the present Montebello oil district. Repeated floods forced the friars to find a new location. In 1775 they moved the mission to its present site on Mission Drive in the town of San Gabriel.

The early history of San Gabriel was blighted by hostility and bloodshed between the local Indians and the undisciplined soldiers of the Spanish garrison; but in later years the mission was distinguished by the large size of its congregation, the wealth of its farms and pastures, and the influence of its ministry in a rich agricultural area.

8. The Bells of San Gabriel are among the most harmonious in California, but there is no proof that any of them were cast in Spain. It was, indeed, the custom of the King of Spain to give two bells—one large, one small—to each newly founded mission. Father Junipero Serra, the president of the missions, had occasion to remind the viceroy of this custom. There is only one mission bell in California that bears any proof that it actually was cast at the king's foundry or at his expense, and it is at Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel). Most California bells came from Lima, Peru, South Boston and East Medway, Massachusetts, Sitka and Kodiak, Alaska, or Mexico

Mexican woman with bright blue eyes and a pleasant face came out to meet us, followed by a padre with a broad, bland face, smoking a cigarette. The padre was from old Spain, and his sixteen years' exile in California had reduced him to an apathetic condition. He seemed to take it for granted that I was a compatriot and daughter of the faith, addressing me as *hija* and making fatherly inquiries into my temporal concerns. Was I married? Yes. To a Spaniard? No, to an Anglo-Saxon. Well, perhaps I had done wisely. He had heard they were generally rich and kind to their wives, although they were not of the true faith. Yes, perhaps it was as well on the whole. . . .

Our last sight of the Mission remains indelibly in my memory. The arid plain, with its cone-shaped, purple Mission Hills closing the horizon; the lonely, antique church, silent and crumbling; the mossy old orchard with its adobe wall; the single hedge of cactus; the cluster of little huts; the two tall palms, standing gaunt and dry in the fierce sunshine; the dark grove of orange trees beyond the village; and, for all sign of life, a solitary rider, spurring his diabolical little horse across the plain.

* * *

From the Mission we had a short drive back to Santa Anita, arriving just in time for a hasty toilet before dinner, which was as sumptuous as it was cheerful and home-like. Nothing could exceed the hospitality of the master of Santa Anita. From the moment of our arrival, when he surrendered his elegant apartment to our use, there was no courtesy that was not offered. The two days passed beneath his roof are one of our most pleasant reminiscences of California.

One seldom hears Mr. Baldwin's name spoken here without the prefix "Lucky." Certainly, his story shows him to be one of those rare individuals whose touch converts everything to gold. In all such histories, however, one may discern that the foundations of "luck" are shrewdness, clear-sightedness, courage and prudence, alternating with audacity. All these qualities I fancied myself able to read in our host's penetrating eyes and reticent lips. Knowing nothing of his career, I should have said, "There is a man who will have the oyster out of this world's shell." But I would rather call him "Tasteful" than "Lucky" Baldwin. His hotel, his theater and his ranch all prove him to deserve this title more distinctly than the other.⁹

City. The usual artisans were Paul Ruelas of Mexico, George H. Holbrook of New England, and various nameless Russians of the Alaska colony.

The six bells in the tower at San Gabriel are no exception: two are Holbrook bells, cast in Massachusetts in 1828; two are Ruelas bells, cast in Mexico City around 1795 and given to the mission by the king; one is dated 1830 and has been at the mission for more than a century; and one, said to date from the founding of San Gabriel, somehow wound up at "Lucky" Baldwin's ranch and was returned from there to the mission in 1930.

9. "Tasteful" Elias J. Baldwin was especially known for his taste in race horses, tall trees, and women. The pursuit of wealth with which to acquire all three brought him

After dinner we strolled out and came upon the Chinese huts, outside of which the men were sitting eating bacon and rice with chopsticks. The huts were not so clean as those we had been accustomed to see, and the odor was pronounced; but they all looked very jolly and comfortable. Passing one, we arrived at the Mexican cabins and paused for a little conversation. The men spoke broken English, but the women, only Spanish. The huts were compounded of mud thatch and sailcloth and are hardly larger than a rabbit hutch.

At the door of one of the huts a stately woman with a black shawl round her head invited us, with an air of condescension, to come in and sit down. We accepted so far as to step inside and look around. In one corner of the mud floor some hens were peacefully burrowing. A small fire burned in a hole at the center; the stars peeped through the ragged thatch; and in a dark corner was a dim horror that may have been a bed. The whole house was no larger than one small chamber, and the roof was too low to allow a tall man to stand upright; but it was the home of a large family.

Returning, we stopped at the little lake in front of Mr. Baldwin's door and were rowed out in a pretty boat upon its moonlit waters. The shores were lined with coves in which herons and cranes were rustling about; and a chorus of frogs came in like a storm of castanets.

* * * *

Next morning we took leave of Santa Anita and San Gabriel, drove directly into town, bade goodbye to Mr. Baldwin and took train for Santa Monica,

to California from Ohio, where he was born in 1828. He proved himself to be a shrewdly self-serving businessman. While running a livery stable in San Francisco, he struck fortune in Comstock Lode mining shares and reputedly made more than \$5.5 million in the stock of the Ophir Mine. His luxurious resort-hotel at Lake Tahoe, his hotel and theater on Market Street in San Francisco, and his celebrated horse farm at Santa Anita brought him national renown; but he was also celebrated for his five marriages, his love affairs, and his numerous "protective" relationships with young women. During the thirty-four years that Baldwin lived and reigned at Santa Anita, he developed the reputation of being a cross between a seventeenth century sultan and one of his own stud stallions. In appearance, however, he was a strange dandy, dressed nearly always in a black slouch hat, a single-breasted, long-tailed, black broadcloth coat, gray striped trousers, and high boots.

Baldwin's name adorns a lake in San Bernardino County and the town of Baldwin Park (originally Vineland) which was renamed by its promoters in 1906 to dissuade Baldwin from founding a competing community on his nearby Rancho Puente de San Gabriel.

Baldwin died at Santa Anita in 1909, where he had been living in comparative poverty for several years. His thoroughbred barn, the rows of fine old eucalyptus and pepper trees he planted around his ranchhouse, his Queen Anne-style guest cottage, and other mementos are preserved in the Los Angeles County Arboretum, a public garden on the site of the ranch.

the Long Branch of California.¹⁰ The railway is a new one, without connection,¹¹ but in its two years' existence, it has already paid the cost of its construction. It is a pretty route, running along by the Santa Monica Mountains to the sea, where it ends in a pier nearly a mile long running out into the Pacific Ocean.

We reached Santa Monica about four o'clock. On the right stands the hotel, consisting of two large, two-storied buildings, connected by covered piazzas, with spacious, well furnished rooms quite equal to the same class of accommodations in the best hotels of the Atlantic shore. At a short distance is a pavilion containing fine bowling alleys, a ball room and a rink for skating. Beyond the hotel several flights of wooden steps—again reminding us of Long Branch—lead down to the beach. The cliffs have the appearance of crumbling, brown earth, but in reality they are composed of solid rock, as one member of our party discovered in attempting to run down a steep incline. Striking his heel into what he supposed was soft earth, he was repelled by the rock and arrived at the foot of the cliff sorely bumped and bruised.

The beach is soft white sand, without pebbles or shells but strewn with seaweed. The sea was calm and blue as a sapphire, and the brown cliffs curved gracefully down to meet it, forming the Bay of Santa Monica, certainly one of the prettiest on any coast. We wandered up and down until tea time, and the younger and more romantic portions of the party returned to enjoy the scenery by the light of the full moon.

At the end of the long pier was a little house, occupied by a polite young man who offered his spyglass with which to see the buoys upon which seals congregate. After a little effort we were able to make out writhing, black creatures that might have been seals or kelpies, for all we could determine. Last year, a very big seal climbed up the cliffs to the hotel and tried to enter the parlor. He was driven back to the sea with some difficulty but renewed the attempt on another night, leaving no doubt in any reasonable mind that he was the victim of enchantment.

Next morning we drove out by carriage, taking some newly constructed roads and some that were not constructed at all, only staked out, for Santa Monica is a new place. After winding through thickets of chaparral and

10. Long Branch gained instant social distinction among the beach resorts of the Atlantic Coast when President Ulysses S. Grant took a beach house at the New Jersey settlement and made it his summer White House. Later, Ocean Grove and Asbury Park became more fashionable than Long Branch, but even the enthusiasm of Mrs. Frank Leslie was not enough to raise Santa Monica to that eminence in 1877.

11. The Los Angeles and Independent Railroad contemplated building an elaborate route from Los Angeles to the Nevada border by way of Cajon Pass and the Mojave Desert. The only track completed, however, was the portion between Santa Monica and Los Angeles, which opened late in 1875.

sumach, we emerged in a little canyon where stood a wooden house surrounded by children, dogs, a pet lamb and rows of beehives. This famous ranch was built recently by a bee-raiser who had been obliged to leave his own ranch because it had been deserted by the bees. We walked quite unharmed among the rows of hives two-stories high. Each box is fitted up with frames in which the comb is made. When the comb is filled, the frames are taken out, placed in a machine and whirled round and round until the honey is thrown out by centrifugal force. We saw no flowers growing near and could not imagine how the bees subsisted; but the bee-rancher told us they will travel miles to find their favorite food.¹²

Time pressing, we drove back to the hotel and soon were on our return trip, traveling in a private palace car—a perfect little *bijou*—belonging to Senator John P. Jones of Nevada, the chief entrepreneur of the railroad. As we departed Los Angeles, Mr. Fragnani, an artist who lives and works near the Mission San Gabriel, presented us with a fine specimen of the horned toad, a beast peculiar to Southern California. They are said to become so tame as to answer to a name, and they certainly are very economical pets, living entirely on flies.

Our toad, for whom a rat trap was purchased as a domicile, bore the journey admirably. The young, unmarried lady of our party constituted herself the toad godmother, and the gentlemen developed wonderful zeal and industry in catering to him. But soon after his arrival at his new home in the East he sickened, declined the daintiest of flies, emaciated painfully, seemed to collapse and finally became extinct.

12. Bee-keeping was the most glamorous agricultural pursuit in Southern California in the late 1870's. Fostered primarily by men and women who had moved west in search of healthful climate, the industry was producing 9 million pounds of honey a year by 1884, and California became the leading honey-producing state in the nation

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Review Editor*

Traditionally, book review sections of historical journals are editorial afterthoughts, space-fillers for the last few pages. In past months, we have tried to transcend that concept and make the review section of the *Quarterly* a vital part of the journal. There is, in fact, no longer simply a "book review" section; the last issue contained a pictorial essay on the Special Collection of the San Francisco Public Library, and this issue has a similar piece on the woman's history holdings of the society's own library. In future issues, we hope to review other library collections and special exhibits.

We also are publishing historiographical articles, longer than normal reviews, that treat recent scholarship in a particular field of California history. The Winter, 1972 *Quarterly* carried a modest article of this type on ethnic history, and in the near future we will publish a more extensive essay on Mexican-American historiography. With this issue, we are initiating a regular bibliography of recent publications in California history prepared by the society's librarian, Peter Evans. This list will inform readers about important works when they are published, rather than months, or even years, later when they are reviewed. It also will provide information about works we are unable to review. The listing and reviews will be limited to books dealing solely or largely with California, and occasionally we will cover works outside the field of history, even works of fiction, that we judge to be of particular importance or interest to our readers.

The changes outlined here are not intended to replace the valuable book reviews normally carried in the *Quarterly*, but rather to supplement them. Our aim, of course, is a review section that is more enjoyable and useful for our readers. If you have comments or suggestions, please let us know.

Library Resources: CHS Collections on the History of Women in California

LYNN BONFIELD DONOVAN, *manuscript librarian of the CHS library.*

A DEMAND BY RESEARCHERS for material relating to women's history has been noted in recent months by the staff of the CHS library. This demand, a by-product of the new feminist movement, comes from students enrolled in college courses dealing with the role of women in history, as well as from people in publishing and the mass media.

The manuscript collection in the library includes letters by authors Gertrude Atherton and Ina Coolbrith; educators Aurelia Henry Reinhardt and Kate Douglas Wiggin; and philanthropists Phoebe Apperson Hearst and Jane Lathrop Stanford. Other fine collections of personal papers include those of Louise A. Sorbier, San Francisco suffragist and philanthropist who was active in the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, and her daughter, Cecile Marie Sorbier, president of the San Francisco Club. Another philanthropist whose papers are held by the library is Janet M. Peck, state chairman of the Serbian Relief League of California and a long-time friend of the Hearst family. Her collection includes several boxes of identified photographs of her family and friends.

In addition to the papers of individual women, the library houses many fine archival collections of women's organizations. The records of the Baby Hygiene Committee of the American Association of University Women, 1900-1954, detail the fight for purified milk. Record files from Girls' High School of San Francisco, 1864-1907, list the name, address, age, birthplace, and father's name and occupation of enrolled students. These names are being indexed for the card catalogue. The library is also the official depository for the archives of the League of Women Voters of San Francisco and the League of Women Voters of California. Both of these files begin in 1911, after California women won the vote, and continue to the present. Recently these papers have been supplemented by oral interviews with past presidents.

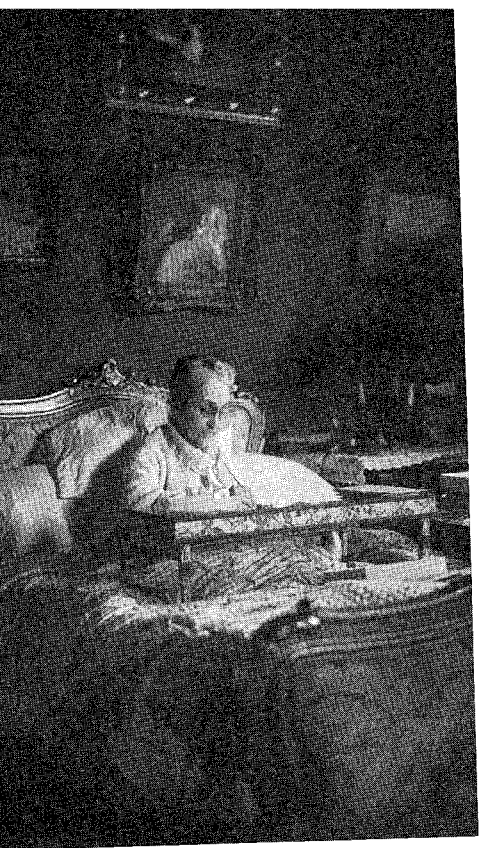
The library's large photograph collection has pictures, informal as well as studio shots, of actresses Caroline Chapman, Blanche Bates, Lotta Crabtree, and Lola Montez; opera singers Emma Nevada and Sibyl Sanderson; and dancer Isadora Duncan. Unusual photographs of Congressperson Florence Prag Kahn, reformer Kate Kennedy, Dr. Cloe Annette Buckel, and educator Sarah Brown Cooper are also available.

Women, but particularly California and western women, have been neglected by American historians. Of the 1,359 entries listed in *Notable American Women* (Harvard University Press, 1971), only forty-two are women whose major contributions are associated with California. Of these, nine are

entertainers and eight are authors, leaving only twenty-five whose reputations remain within the state. The increase in researchers in the library working on women's history indicates that this neglect will be amended. The library, located at 2099 Pacific Avenue, is open to the public Tuesday through Saturday, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. (holidays excepted).

"Although they made a brave fight for a plank in the Republican platform, they failed," commented the San Francisco Examiner in August, 1908. Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, Mrs. Theodore Pinther, Jr., and Mrs. Theodore Pinther, Sr. (from left) had marched with other women on the Republican state convention meeting in Oakland.





Two society women and an actress were among the ranks of active California women. Phoebe Apperson Hearst (above), pictured late in her life, was a prominent philanthropist and especially known for her contributions to education from the kindergarten to advanced graduate levels.

Always youthful looking, Lotta Crabtree (above right), born in 1847, was the theatrical darling of the California mining towns. She first appeared on the stage as a youngster of eight and, in later years, extended her tours to the East and Midwest.

Daughter of a suffragist and philanthropist, Cecile M. Sorbier (right) served as president of the San Francisco Club. This picture, taken c. 1906, is in the collection of her personal papers held by the society.

PAGE 84: Although ill in the last years of her life (photo c. 1920), Ina Coolbrith, formerly a librarian and a noted California poet, played a central role in the San Francisco literary salon.





Book Reviews

Busing and Backlash: White Against White in an Urban California School District. By Lillian B. Rubin. (Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press, 1972. 248 pp. \$7.95.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, instructor of history at Laney College, Oakland; book review editor of the quarterly.

IN 1859 California's superintendent of schools, Andrew J. Moulder, claimed that "the great mass of our citizens will not associate in terms of equality with those of inferior races; nor will they consent that their children should do so." From Moulder's time to the present, racially segregated schools have existed in California. Until 1947, when the legislature deleted the last segregation provisions from the Education Code, some of these segregated schools existed in accordance with California law. Yet few serious studies, historical or otherwise, have been written on school segregation in California, and most of these studies take a pro-integrationist point of view which gives short shrift to the arguments and motives of the opponents of desegregation. For example, John and LaRee Caughey's analysis of the Los Angeles situation, *School Segregation on Our Doorstep* (Los Angeles, 1966) and Neil Sullivan's description of Berkeley's successful integration program, *Now is the Time* (Bloomington, 1969), devote little attention to the anti-integrationist point of view.

This is not the case with Lillian B. Rubin's *Busing and Backlash*, an account of the notably unsuccessful attempt to integrate the Richmond schools between 1965 and 1969. For Dr. Rubin, a professional sociologist and parent in the Richmond District, the controversy was not so much a conflict between black and white as, in the words of her subtitle, a case of "white against white in an urban school district."

In 1965 the Richmond school board was controlled by liberal, upper middle class professionals who had little in common with the lower middle class working people who made up the majority of the district's residents. Representatives of the area's substantial black minority demanded that the board adopt a school integration policy, a demand eventually backed by the courts. The board responded with hesitant steps toward total desegregation through busing, and the "silent majority" soon became vocal. In school board elections in 1967 and 1969 all liberals were swept out of office and replaced by anti-busing conservatives. It was, according to Rubin, a "failure of liberal politics—a case history of its inability to cope with an issue that arouses strong feelings, that divides deeply and that brings large numbers of formerly inactive men and women into the political arena. Similarly, the conservative success is rooted in a socio-political system that too often failed to hear, to understand, and to react to the needs of those in the working class and lower middle class."

Rubin fully recognizes the racist and authoritarian elements of the conservative position (and, at times, the liberal position) in the Richmond controversy. But she sympathizes with white, working class parents who view integration as something against their interests forced upon them by people whose outlook and experience is different from their own. To many whites in Richmond, school integration not only meant racial mixture in the classroom, but also loss of educational quality and hard-won social status. Dr. Rubin takes such attitudes seriously and is as unwilling to accept abstract, academic theories of "working class behavior" as she is the popular "hard-hat" stereotype

The book ultimately becomes a discussion of a liberal dilemma: how to achieve the ends of integration and racial justice when the majority of citizens is unwilling to support the necessary means. The dilemma is a personal one for Dr. Rubin, for in spite of her understanding of the conservative position in Richmond, she remains an advocate of school integration. The book does not resolve the dilemma; indeed, the conclusion is the least convincing part of the work and the chapter in which the otherwise acceptable prose becomes wordy and vague.

But *Busing and Backlash* is still a book of great value, a work that is required reading for anyone interested in race, class and urban education in California. Rubin's study raises important questions, not only for sociologists and educators, but also for historians. The book might have contained a more comprehensive background chapter if historians had done the basic research on the state's long heritage of school segregation and on the events during the past thirty years which turned small, homogenous towns such as Richmond into racially and socially diverse industrial cities. The decades that began with World War II are an historical era as important to the development of the state as the periods following the Gold Rush or the arrival of the transcontinental railroad. It is time historians recognized that fact.

Phil Swing and Boulder Dam. By Beverley Bowen Moeller (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. 199 pp. Illustrations. \$8.50.)

Reviewed by PAUL S. TAYLOR, *emeritus professor of economics at the University of California, Berkeley, who has served in advisory capacity to many public agencies.*

HARNASSING THE COLORADO RIVER at Boulder Dam was a major episode in development of the West. Its immediate purposes were to save the Imperial Valley from the imminent hazard of inundation, to generate electric power from falling water, and to irrigate parched land. Its accomplishment was also a human drama. The author recounts step by step the unremitting and skillful efforts of Phil Swing to make the project a reality. As private citizen and as congressman he, with the collaboration of Hiram Johnson, won congressional authorization in the late twenties and initiation of construction in the early thirties. In the author's well-documented opinion it is ironical to have conferred upon the high dam the name of Herbert Hoover, who never gave it his wholehearted support.

The author tells the story against its background of conflicting forces. One problem facing Swing was reconciliation of claims to water by the states of the basin, claims adding up to more water than flowed in the river's channel. Another problem was the conflict of interests between those who wanted an all-American canal to deliver water to Imperial Valley lands, free of enlarging claims by landowners on the Mexican side of the international boundary, and the latter who wanted more water. Another issue was private versus public power: Who was to construct the power plant at the dam and control distribution of the power?

The author reveals these issues, obstacles Phil Swing had to overcome to complete his project as they emerged. Swing assuaged the conflicting claims of the basin states, at least temporarily and adequately enough to win congressional approval, by making the project subject to an interstate water compact. The author explains that the compact meant "that the faster-developing states would have a limitation placed on their right to appropriate water. The water law of the West, 'first in time, first in right,' was abrogated by the compact. . . . The upper states could not permit a dam without a

compact which would assure them of their share of the river at some future date when they could utilize it."

Opposition to an all-American canal came from American landowners on the Mexican side of the international boundary. "Swing's early advocacy of an all-American canal was antithetical to [Harry] Chandler's vast land interests in Mexico. By 1924 over 185,000 acres of irrigated Chandler land were farmed by lessees on a royalty basis ranging from 16 to 20 percent of the gross income. . . . The Mexican lands were entitled to half the flow of water through the Alamo canal according to a 1904 agreement made by the principals of the old California Development Company and the Mexican government. If a canal were to be constructed capable of carrying water to the Imperial Valley on the American side of the border, the burden of obtaining water for their own lands would fall on the proprietors of the Mexican lands." This opposition was overridden.

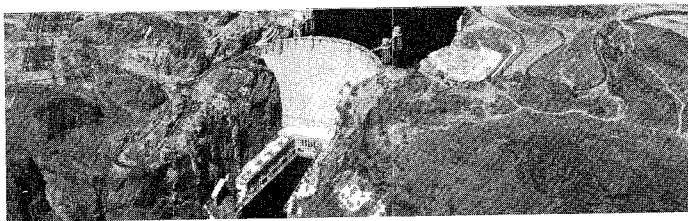
The issue of private versus public power revealed opposition to anything more than a low flood control dam, and it stimulated imaginative tactics. Talking to men in middle western and southern agriculture, Swing encountered opposition to the entire irrigation project. In the cotton-growing area farmers objected that the project would put a million more acres into the competing production of cotton. In corn country farmers objected that it would put a million more acres of corn in the market. In the wheat belt the story was that it would put a million acres into wheat. "The same kind of opposition, the same acreage figure with crop altered to fit the geographic area, spelled the organized effort of the power companies," the author concludes.

On the personal side, the author tells of the embarrassment caused Swing by opponents who exploited the fact that while a congressman he had accepted \$708 as counsel for the Imperial Irrigation District, a sum he later returned. No violation of law was ever established, but the incident was used against him.

Moeller's story is of a man devoted wholeheartedly to assuring fullest development of Colorado River waters in the public interest. One problem raised by the Boulder Canyon Project Act now receiving increasing attention in the courts is not touched upon. In 1933 Secretary of Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur waived application of reclamation law and policy limiting water deliveries to 160 acres per individual and made no move to apply the requirement of residency by the water receiver. The omission of acreage limitation was pointed out by Interior Solicitor Fowler Harper as early as 1944. Both issues are now in the federal courts. It does not appear in the book whether Swing or Johnson were aware of these issues of fundamental national policy designed to create homogeneous communities by favoring resident working farmers over monopolists of land and water. The public record shows that at least in 1926 Swing did not intend national acreage limitation policy to accompany the national financial subsidies he was seeking for the lands of Imperial Valley.

The author's sense of human drama is acute, and she writes beautifully. It seems almost unfair to note that typographic errors confusing to the reader appear on page 88, line 11, and on page 143, last line.

Conflicting claims and policies have attended the Boulder Dam project from its inception to the present



Sketches of A Journey on the Two Oceans and to the Interior of America and of a Civil War in Northern Lower California by the Abbe Henry J. A. Alric. Translated by Norah E. Jones. Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1971. 215 pp. Illustrations. \$20.00.)

Reviewed by W. MICHAEL MATHES, professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

ALTHOUGH PUBLISHED in three editions, the first in Mexico in 1866, and the second and third in Paris in 1867 and 1869, Alric's *Sketches* is among the rarest and least known journals of nineteenth century Baja California. This first and excellent translation by Norah E. Jones, published as volume 24 of the Baja California Travels Series, incorporates the texts of all three previous editions to provide the reader with a maximum of detail. Alric's text is preceded by an extensive and comprehensive introduction by Professor Doyce B. Nunis of the University of Southern California. The introduction is, in fact, a brief history of northern Baja California from 1850 to 1860 as well as a short biography of Alric, and therefore it clarifies *Sketches* by placing it within the greater context of the history of the region.

Alric, born in France in 1805, immigrated to Alta California in late 1850 and was named pastor to the French miners in the Sonora gold fields by Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany in San Francisco. The first two chapters of *Sketches* describe the voyage from France via Cape Horn and Hawaii to San Francisco, and Alric's five years of service in the violent and brutal mining town of Sonora, where it appears that his primary function was the burial of victims of "Judge Lynch."

The disillusionment of Sonora led Alric to volunteer his services in the isolated *frontera* of Baja California. Chapter three describes the voyage by sea to San Diego and the overland trip southward to Santo Tomás in early 1856. Following his arrival in Santo Tomás, Alric conducted a tour of the *frontera* which he describes in his fourth chapter, along with vignettes of ethnology, geography, climate, and resources, as well as some rather vague statistics relative to the missions in the area.

Although Alric had left Alta California to escape frontier violence, he soon found that the area of his pastoral efforts was in the process of erupting into civil war. In chapters five and six he describes in detail the complex political machinations of the José María Castro and José Matías Moreno factions which led to bloody conflict, plunder, murder, and extensive destruction in the *frontera* from 1858 to 1860.

His mission in ruin, Alric left Santo Tomás for Mexico City in January, 1861. Traveling via San Diego and Temecula, he remained in Yuma for a short time prior to crossing into Sonora. Passing through Altar and Hermosillo to Guaymas, Alric boarded a United States ship in that port and sailed to La Paz from whence he proceeded by sea to Mazatlán and San Blas. Continuing his journey by horseback and stagecoach, he visited Tepic, Guadalajara, and Querétaro before reaching Mexico in August. The details of the hardships of the trip, of the problems of banditry, and of the destruction caused by the War of the Reform are given in chapters seven and eight.

Upon his arrival in Mexico City, Alric became a pastor to the French colony, but within little more than a year he became involved in the French occupation of Mexico and the establishment of the Empire of Maximilian. As a Frenchman, in November of 1863 Alric became the chaplain of French troops quartered in Tacubaya and served in this capacity until the withdrawal of French forces under Marshal Bazaine in February, 1867. This service, as well as vignettes of the history, ethnology, and civilization of the Valley of Mexico, is the subject of chapter nine.

With the success of Benito Juárez, the French enterprise in Mexico rapidly declined,

and as the forces of Napoleon III returned home, Alric did likewise, sailing from Veracruz in April, 1867. In his final chapter he describes the return voyage and his elation upon his return to Paris where he would serve as a parish priest until his death in 1883.

Alric's text is well annotated by Professor Nunis, who has thereby both illuminated and expanded it. An analytical index follows the text, although a supplementary bibliography would have been more desirable in its place since the entire Baja California Travels Series will be cumulatively indexed in its final volume. The quality of Alric's *Sketches* is, of course, in keeping with the high standards set for the series by Glen Dawson and Edwin Carpenter, its general editors.

The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, As Told To Thomas D. Bonner. Introduction, notes, and epilogue by Delmont R. Oswald. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972. Illustrations. 649 pp. \$9.75.)

Reviewed by RICHARD H. DILLON, head librarian of the Sutro Branch, California State Library, San Francisco.

THIS EXCELLENT EDITION of a classic of Western Americana has appeared at an opportune time—virtually coincidentally with Elinor Wilson's biography of Beckwourth (or Beckwith) for the University of Oklahoma Press. Used together, the volumes should constitute at long last a definitive biography of the mulatto mountain man.

Beckwourth was the natural son of a Virginia planter and a Negro slave girl. Emancipated by his father and encouraged to seek his fortune in the West, he did just that in the face of great odds. (Only one other black, Ed Rose, became a major figure in the Rocky Mountain fur trade.) From the time that he served in General Ashley's 1824 expedition until his death in 1866, he was a prominent figure in the western mountains and plains. His one major absence was during Florida's Second Seminole War in which, typically, he claimed to have served as a captain of scouts but was, more likely, a muleteer, packer, or something of that sort.

For years, Beckwourth's reminiscences have, understandably, been heavily discounted by historians, because the man was such a liar and braggart. When he was not rescuing General Ashley three times over from death, he was telling-off or bluffing-down the likes of Tom ("Broken Hand") Fitzpatrick. Had shrinks or trick-cyclists been the vogue a hundred and forty years ago, they would have had a field day with Jim. It was as if Beckwourth's ego, suffering from a psychological tape worm, needed constant stuffing.

Early on, however, scholars like Charles Camp and Dale Morgan realized that there was about as much truth as fiction in Beckwourth's accounts. He was imaginative, but he was not a novelist. And, above all, he *was* there. Now we have a detailed going-over of the incidents of his career which makes the *Life* much more useful to those of us concerned with the facts of history, as opposed to folklore and legend. Oswald might have been even tougher on Jim, but he probably became too fond of his subject to be as ruthless in his third-degree as he might have been.

Life is substantially more important to historians of the Rocky Mountain West than to those interested in the Pacific littoral. Beckwourth's role inland was larger. He was a "chief" (subchief, probably) of the Crows, not the Modocs or Mojaves. Not until page 503 of some 535 pages of narrative does he arrive in California, alas. And, for a blowhard, he is close-mouthed indeed about his role as horse rustler on the coast with Pegleg Smith and the Ute renegade, Walkara. Although Oswald supplies an epilogue which carries forth Beckwourth's career from the time he dictated the book

to T. D. Bonner in Indian Bar *circa* 1851, it contains just the bare bones of the dozen and more years remaining of his career.

An undependable book can become a classic of Western Americana, *vide* James Ohio Pattie's narrative. This is the case with Beckwourth's *Life*. Jim ignored time, geography, and cast of characters if he could make a good story better. And he could not abide being on the sidelines in any incident; he had to hog the limelight—even if he was not there. And, finally, he had an expansive way with figures. If he led fifty Crow warriors on a raid, the number in imperishable print had to become 500. Yet he was a great character in the heyday of beaver trapping, and his account is a great source of information when used with care. He met and knew practically every important member of that "reckless breed of men" who pioneered fur trading (and horse stealing) in the West. While not the gospel truth, the memoir seldom contains incidents which Beckwourth and editor, co-author, or ghost Bonner scissored out of whole cloth. As literature, the endless raids and counter-raids of the bloody Crow v. Blackfeet campaigns become a bore. But as history, even flawed history, this is a book of great importance to an understanding of the mountain, plains, and Great Basin West.

On the Mother Lode. By Philip Ross May. (Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury, 1971. 63 pp. Notes. \$5.55.)

Reviewed by GEORGE R. STEWART, *Professor Emeritus of English at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of many distinguished books on California history including* NAMES ON THE LAND (1945), DONNER PASS AND THOSE WHO CROSSED IT (1960), THE CALIFORNIA TRAIL (1962), and FIRE (1971).

IF YOU ARE WRITING a novel about the California Gold Rush, don't have your hero say anything—in 1849 or even in the 1850's—about the Mother Lode. At least, according to Philip Ross May (and he makes a good case, in his present book) for you will thereby be committing an anachronism.

In this small volume the author considers what the Mother Lode, by different usages, has been thought to be—a rock-formation, a region, a romantic ideal. If it is any or all of these, just what formation or region or ideal?

The author devotes his main drive to the history of the name, with interesting results. He discusses the usage of Veta Madre, established in Mexico and doubtless used by early Mexican miners in California, though whether with reference to California is less certain. He demonstrates that—as a term in English, being a literal translation of Veta Madre—Mother Lode arose at a comparatively late date. To the chagrin of professional Californians, he points out that the term Comstock established itself about 1866, replacing the previously current Washoe. Shortly thereafter, in 1868, comes the appearance of the term "mother lode," soon to be granted capital letters and to remain as a *riposte* of California to Nevada: "Our Mother Lode is just as good as your Comstock Lode, and maybe better." Possibly, even the speculators in mining stocks had something to do with the adoption of the new and catchy term—with Mother an early example of Momism, and Lode inevitably suggesting Load.

To exercise the reviewer's inalienable right to be captious, I might point out that the author hardly (considering the detail in which he has worked) makes enough use of the Mexican-Spanish background. The term *madre* appears elsewhere in California, at least once in Sierra Madre, as well as in New Mexico and in Mexico itself. Some investigation of the meaning association with *madre* might have been illuminating.

We are thankful and honored to have, from the farther island of far New Zealand, this well-nigh-exhaustive treatise on our own Mother Lode.

California Check List

PETER EVANS, CHS librarian

IN ORDER TO keep society members posted on publications in California history which might be of interest, a selected bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published books will be provided in the quarterly on a regular basis. Its purpose is not only to list books published on a national scale and supported by large advertising budgets, but also to notify readers of the many books—and booklets—published by historical societies, book dealers, local publishers of limited means, and the like.

The list is limited to material published within the past year (1972) and to forthcoming books. On occasion, as space permits, we shall list reprints or new editions of older works. Where the publisher is national or the item available in most books stores, only standard bibliographical data will be provided. Where the publisher is less known or the book's projected circulation more limited, the address of the publisher or distributor will be supplied.

We hope this list will be of profit to authors and publishers, and to all who are interested in California history—whether it be history on a panoramic scale or history as viewed through the magnifying glass of local interest. Please notify the compiler of future local publications, including author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, price, number of pages, and any special ordering instructions. Send the notice to: Peter A. Evans, Librarian; California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, 94109.

- Armstrong, Alice Catt, ed. *Who's Who in California*, 9th ed. Los Angeles: Who's Who Historical Society. 1972.—1331 Cordell Place, Los Angeles 90069 (\$38.50 + tax)
- Baer, Morley, and Augusta Fink. *Adobes in the Sun: Portraits of a More Tranquil Era*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books. 1972 (\$14.95)
- Barras, Judy. *Tehachapi: The Formative Years*. n.p.: Judy Barras. February 1973. —The Formative Years, P.O. Box 521, Tehachapi, CA 93561 (\$3.15)
- Beck, Warren A., and David A. Williams. *California: A History of the Golden State*. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1972. (\$11.95)
- Bloomfield, Arthur. *50 Years of the San Francisco Opera*. San Francisco: San Francisco Book Company. 1972. (\$14.95)
- Boyd, William Harland. *A California Middle Border: The Kern River Country, 1772-1880*. Richardson: Havilah Press. 1972. —807 Clearwater Drive, Richardson, Texas 75080 (\$8.00 plus tax and shipping)
- Casebier, Dennis G. *Battle at Camp Cady*. n.p. 1972. —Dennis G. Casebier, P.O. Box 307, Norco, CA 91760 (\$2.50)
- . *Camp Rock Spring, California*. n.p. Spring 1973. (\$?)

- . *Carleton's Pab-Ute Campaign*. n.p. 1972. (\$3.50)
- Chamberlain, Newell D. *The Call of Gold: True Tales on the Gold Road to Yosemite*. Fresno: Valley Publishers. 1972. —1759 Fulton St., Fresno 93721 (\$5.95)
- Cogan, Sara G. *The Jews of San Francisco and the Greater Bay Area, 1849-1919: An Annotated Bibliography*. Berkeley: Western Jewish History Center. Spring 1973. —2911 Russell St., Berkeley 94705 (\$22.50)
- Conmy, Peter Thomas. *Seventy Years of Service: The History of the Knights of Columbus in California, 1902-1972*. Los Angeles: California State Council, Knights of Columbus. 1972. —1318 West 9th St., Los Angeles 90015 (\$8.95)
- Connor, Seymour V., and Gale Webber, eds. *The Museum Journal, XIII—Chronicles of the Yaqui Expedition*. Lubbock: West Texas Museum Assn. 1972. —P.O. Box 4499, Lubbock, Texas 79409 (\$8.50 cloth, \$6.00 paper)
- Conrotto, Eugene. *Miwok Means People*. Fresno: Valley Publishers. March 1973. —1759 Fulton St., Fresno 93721.
- Crandall, Chuck. *They Chose to Be Different: Creative California Homes*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books. 1972. (\$9.95)
- Crerar Library. *Pamphlets on Pacific Railway Projects*, Crerar Classics Ser. No. 3. Chicago: Swallow Press. 1972. (\$10.00)
- Dillon, Richard H. *Burnt-out Fires: California's Modoc Indian War*. San Francisco: Prentice-Hall, Inc. February 1973. (\$8.95)
- Faulk, Odie B. *The Leather Jacket Soldier: Spanish Military Equipment and Institutions of the Late 18th Century*. Pasadena: Socio-Technical Publications. 1972. —P.O. Box 4304, Catalina Station, Pasadena 91106 (\$10.00)
- Fay, Rimmon C., et al. *Southern California's Deteriorating Marine Environment*. Claremont: Center for California Public Affairs. 1972. —226 W. Foothill Blvd., Claremont, CA 91711 (\$3.68 incl. tax)
- Folkman, David I., Jr. *The Nicaragua Route*. Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press. 1972. (\$7.50)
- Geiger, Maynard. *California Calligraphy: Identified Autographs of Personages Connected with the Conquest and Development of the Californias*. Ramona: Ballena Press. 1972 —P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065 (\$4.50)
- Gilliam, Harold. *For Better or for Worse: The Ecology of an Urban Area*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books. 1972. (\$5.95)
- Gould, Helen Weaver. *La Porte Scrapbook*. La Porte: n.p. 1972. —Mrs. T. L. Gould, La Porte Station, Strawberry Valley, CA 95981 (\$3.20)
- Hampden, John. *Francis Drake, Privateer*. University: Univ. of Alabama Press. 1972.
- Hanscom, W. W. *The Archaeology of the Cable Car*. Edited by Walt Wheelock. Pasadena: Socio-Technical Publications. 1972. —P.O. Box 4303, Catalina Station, Pasadena, CA 91106 (\$10.00)
- Hayden, Mike. *Guidebook to the Delta Country of Central California*. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press. March 1973. (\$1.95)
- Heizer, Robert F., and Albert B. Elsasser, eds. *Original Accounts of the Lone Woman of San Nicolas Island*. Reprint from Reports of the U.C. Arch. Survey, No. 55. Ramona: Ballena Press. 1972 —P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065 (\$2.50)
- Henderson, David A. *Men & Whales at Scammon's Lagoon*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1972. —535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90017 (\$24.00)
- Hermann, Ruth. *The Paiutes of Pyramid Lake*. n.p. n.d. —Ruth Herman, P.O. Box 202, San Mateo, CA 94401.
- Hicks, John, and Regina Hicks. *Canmery Row: A Pictorial History*. Salinas, Calif.: I & M Enterprises. 1972. —Creative Services, P.O. Box 5162, Carmel, CA 93921.

- Hohenthal Helen, and John E. Caswell. *Streams in a Thirsty Land, A History of the Turlock Region*. Turlock, Calif.: Turlock Centennial Foundation. 1972. —P.O. Box 1694, Turlock, CA 95380 (\$14.50)
- Jostes, Barbara Donohoe, ed. *John Parrott, Consul: Selected Papers of a Western Pioneer*. San Francisco: Lawton & Alfred Kennedy. 1972. —San Mateo County Historical Assn., 1700 West Hillsdale Blvd., San Mateo, CA 94402 (\$65.00 plus tax)
- Junior League of San Jose, Inc., *Discovering Santa Clara Valley: Cultural, Recreational & Historical Tourguide*. San Jose: Junior League of San Jose, Inc. 1973. —P.O. Box 24725, San Jose, CA 95154 (\$2.35)
- Klotz, Esther. *Riverside and the Day the Bank Broke*. Riverside: n.p., n.d. —Esther Klotz, 4624 Olivewood Ave., Riverside, CA 92501 (\$9.40)
- Knox, Maxine. *Exploring Big Sur, Carmel and Monterey*. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press. April 1973. (\$1.95)
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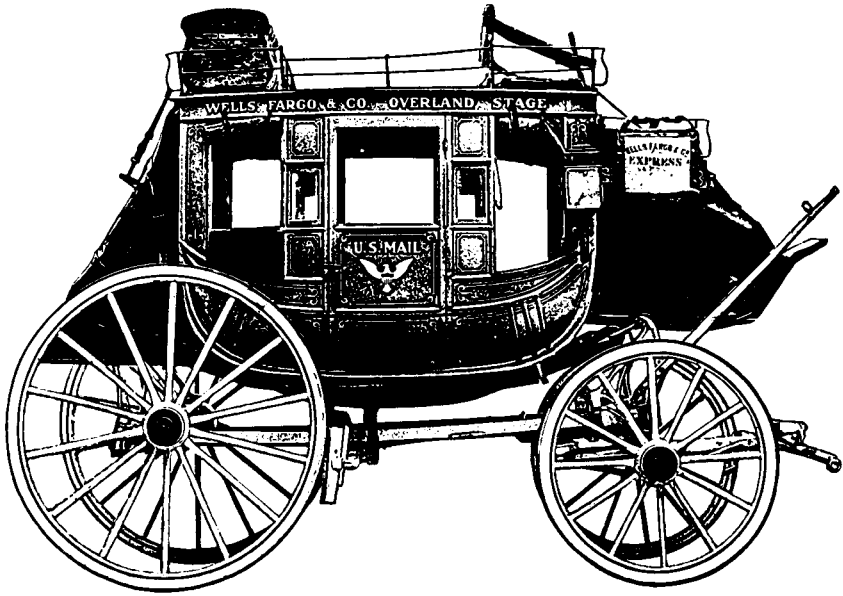
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